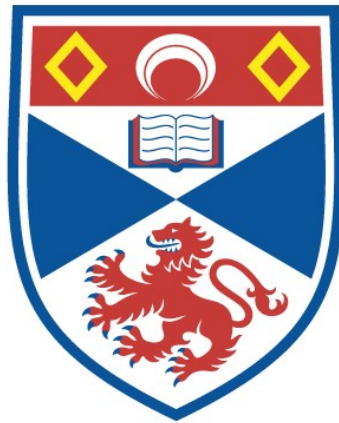


**THE 'DURHAM RITUAL' (DURHAM MS. A. IV. 19)  
AND ITS PLACE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF  
COLLECTARS, 8TH-12THC.**

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD  
at the  
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**The 'Durham Ritual' (Durham Ms.A.IV.19)**

and its place in the development of collectars,

8th-12thc.

by

A.-M. H. Corrêa

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor  
of Philosophy in the University of St. Andrews

December 1987

St. John's House,  
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## Abstract

Few liturgical historians are aware that a book of collects for the Divine Offices formed part of the service-books owned by a monk or priest during the late eighth to the end of the twelfth century. Conciliar decrees and liturgical rules remain silent about its function and development. On account of the paucity of information from the non-liturgical evidence, one can only formulate an idea about the collectar from the surviving manuscripts. The Durham Cathedral Library, Ms.A.IV.19, misnamed the 'Durham Ritual', is the earliest collectar to have survived in England. It has been tentatively dated to the early tenth century, written in the south of England from an unknown exemplar. At least five continental collectars pre-date the Durham Collectar. This number increases substantially in the eleventh century, when the Leofric Collectar and Wulfstan Portiforium, the better-known English collectars, were written. By the twelfth century, the collectar is still used; but its association is so intertwined with other office material that it is but a small step away from the breviary.

In an effort to place the Durham Collectar within the development of collectars, the surviving manuscripts prior to the twelfth century have been examined. No standard collectar ever materialized. The 'pure collectar' of the eighth century extracted only the extraneous prayers from the mass-set of a single sacramentary. By the ninth century, some of the more important mass prayers were introduced, in particular, the *collecta*. Both Gelasian and Gregorian prayers were extracted, possibly reflecting the more complex structure of the sacramentary source. At the turn of the century, the *capitula*, or short chapter readings from the Bible, were also added. The Durham Collectar represents this primitive stage, before the prayers and chapters were divided into offices. The exemplar of the DC adhered closely to its sacramentary source. Textual analysis of the prayers, in particular those for All Saints and St. Martin, among others, indicate that this sacramentary lay very close to Tours and the compositions of Alcuin.

These continental affiliations and its primitive organization place the DC at odds with the tenth- and eleventh-century English service-books. This may explain the treatment it received in England. It was sent northwards soon after it was hastily copied in southern England by a scribe who was not trained in a Winchester scriptorium. At Chester-le-Street, members of the Cuthbert community added other office material and educational texts. By c.970, it was glossed by Provost Aldred, the famous glossator of the Lindisfarne Gospels.

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## Declarations

I, Alicia Michelle Harting Corrêa, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 105,000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

Date: 18 Dec. 1987      Signature:

I was admitted as a research student under Ordinance No.12 on 8 October 1984 and as a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy on 8 April 1985; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St. Andrews between 1984 and 1987.

Date: 18 - Dec. 1987      Signature:

I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of St. Andrews and that the candidate is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

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## Table of Abbreviations

ASE	Anglo-Saxon England
CCsl	Corpus Christianorum, series latina
CLA	Codices Latini Antiquiores, ed. Lowe
CLLA	Codices Liturgici Latini Antiquiores, ed. Gamber
DACL	Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétiennes et de liturgie
EEMF	Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile
EL	Ephemerides Liturgicae
Grégorien	<i>Le Sacramentaire Grégorien</i> , 3 vols., ed. J. Deshusses, ( <i>Spicilegium Friburgense</i> , 16[1971; 2nd.edn.,1979], 24[1979], 28[1982])
HBS	Henry Bradshaw Society
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
OR	<i>Les Ordines Romani du Haut Moyen Age</i> , 5 vols., ed. M. Andrieu, ( <i>Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, Etudes et Documents</i> , 1931, 1948- 51, 1956-61; reprinted 1984)
PL	Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina
RB	Révue Bénédictine
RSPhTh	P.-M. Gy, 'Collectaire, rituel, processional,' <i>Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques</i> , 44(1960), 441-469
Sakramentartypen	<i>Sakramentartypen, Versuch einer Gruppierung der Handschriften und Fragmente bis zur Jahrtausenvende</i> , K. Gamber (TuA, 49/50, 1958)
TuA	Texte und Arbeiten



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I dedicate this thesis to my father, Mr. Leonel Lago Corrêa.

## Chapter One

### The origins of collects and collectars: the non-liturgical evidence

The non-liturgical evidence gives very little information about collects and collectars. Mention is rarely made of prayers, such as those which have come to be recognized as collects, which were recited in the mass and offices. Nothing is said about the collectar. Particularly critical is the absence of the collectar from the lists of necessary liturgical books which are often cited in these sources. Paradoxically, fragmentary evidence survives from ninth-century inventories; these show that the collectar book did exist, although no indication is given of the use the officiant made of it. Hence the liturgical sources, i.e., the surviving collectars, must be examined, as they alone now hold the only clues for understanding how they were used. Chapter Two will be especially concerned with this issue, and with the implications of the fact that it is nearly impossible to find a standard collectar among those surviving. The non-liturgical evidence offers no help here. If it is necessary to begin with an analysis of counciliar decrees, customaries, and inventories, it will quickly become apparent that these alone are inadequate and that attention must turn to the earliest collectars and their immediate predecessors.

This examination of the non-liturgical material will be concerned with the earliest surviving evidence for collects of the mass and their relationship to the collects of the offices. These may indicate whether Gallican or Roman sources have been more influential in this development. Also, it is important to investigate whether a book of collects for the offices was ever authorized. Was the collectar considered a required book for the liturgy? Was this the case in the reforming decrees of the ninth-century Carolingian church, when inventories and historical chronicles indicate that their popularity was increasing, and within the eleventh-century decrees of Aelfric and Wulfstan in Anglo-Saxon England, which would have taken into account the liturgical response to collectars in England?

The origins and early history of the term collectaneum, or capitulari, the latter of which H. Gneuss has recently claimed was used more commonly in Anglo-Saxon England,[1] and its relation with the collectae, remain uncertain. Du Cange defined collectaneum as a 'Liber Ecclesiasticus, in quo "collectae" ad quaevis officia dicendae continentur.'[2] But a collecta is used both in the medieval and contemporary liturgy to refer to one of the prayers recited or decantata at the moment of meeting, usually for the mass when it would immediately precede the Scripture readings. It also refers to the prayer recited at the conclusion of a divine office.[3] Hence, it is important to distinguish between each of these liturgical observances in any discussion of the collecta.

It is normally accepted that the Council of Agde (A.D. 506) preserved the earliest mention of the collect where it is authorized to be recited at Vespers. However, the interpretation of this passage has been somewhat arbitrary, and has given the collect an unjustified priority among the other liturgical formulae. The authorization of the collect at Vespers and its relation to the collect of the mass, is much less explicit in canon 30 of the Council of Agde than has been assumed:

'Et quia convenit ordinem Ecclesiae ab omnibus aequaliter custodiri, studendum est, ut sicut ubique fit, et post antiphonas collectiones per ordinem ab episcopis vel presbyteris dicantur; et hymnos matutinos vel vespertinos diebus omnibus decantari, et in conclusionem matutinarum vel vespertinarum missarum post hymnos capitella de psalmis dici, et plebem collecta oratione ad vesperam ab episcopo cum benedictione dimitti.'[4]

Canon no. 30 has ordered the recitation of the collect at Matins and Vespers only. It has no technical terminology, but is referred to generally as collecta oratio, 'the prayer having been collected.' This reference was made within the context of a council devoted to a description of the 'cursus gallicanus'. The collecta oratio was to occur after the recitation of the capitella de psalmis. The office was formally concluded by the benediction of the people. Cabrol has claimed that this particular canon was 'surtout intéressant au point de vue du cursus gallicanus'; but he has in fact given little attention to the collect, and in some confusion has associated the benedictionem with the oratio super populum. [5]

Two other misconceptions must be noted here. The collectiones in canon 30 have no relationship with the collect. Instead, they are the collections of readings or lectiones which are read (dicantur) by the priest or bishop after the antiphons. These are distinct, in turn, from the capitella which are often erroneously linked with the readings. In canon 30, capitella refer specifically to extracts from the psalms used as a form of intercession.[6] The capitella were also cited by Caesarius of Arles, who presided at the Agde council, and by his successor, Aurelianus of Arles.[7] It could be assumed that this definition and use of capitella prevailed in sixth-century Gaul.

Caesarius of Arles did not write about the collect even though he was present at the Council of Agde in 506, when the first reference was made to the collecta oratio. In his 'Regula ad monachos', Caesarius ordered that after the Gloria at Matins, the capitellum should be said to signify the conclusion of the office.[8] Aurelianus ordered the capitellum to be recited regularly at every office. Its position at the end, where today's liturgists would have expected to find a reference to the final collect of which Aurelian makes no mention, may have contributed to the confusion over the capitella and the collect.

No mention of the collect was made in the Councils of Arles in 524 and 554, at the first of which Caesarius must have presided, or in the Council of Vaison in 529, where the Kyrie Eleison was explicitly authorized for Matins, Vespers, and the mass; and the Sanctus for Matins and the mass. By contrast, the chanting of hymns and antiphons

were regularly authorized in the councils and ecclesiastical rules, where frequently the order and liturgical incipits were stipulated. This attention had a direct bearing on the early formation of the antiphonary of the office and the hymnary. It is arguable that since the collects received correspondingly little notice, their assimilation into a book called the 'collectar' (or some other identifiable name) was correspondingly much later. As a result, the book may have received less attention to standardize it, and consequently did not last for any length of time.

It is not possible to get behind the Council of Agde and the year 506 for a specific reference to the concluding prayer of the offices. It has been shown that there are certain limitations even with this reference in the Agde canon. An earlier, non-liturgical witness does survive in the 'De coenobiorum institutis' of John Cassian.[9] The Egyptian liturgy nearly a century before the Council of Agde had introduced the chanting of orationes within the recitation of the psalms for the offices. Cassian explained that the eleven psalms chanted in succession should be separated by eleven prayers, which he seems at one point to specify as preces, while the twelfth psalm should be completed with an 'alleluia' and final prayer.[10] These eleven prayers bear little resemblance to the collect as the Western Church knew it. They are far too numerous for a single service, and it has been claimed that the prayers were inspired by the psalm text and had no relation to the mass collect.[11]

Perhaps the more relevant passage in Cassian for the study of collects is his mention of the twelfth and final prayer. In criticizing those who knelt down for this final prayer too quickly after the reading of the psalms in an effort to hasten the end of the service, Cassian revealed an important indication that this prayer was intended for the concluding piece of the office, similar to the collect of the Western Church.[12] He explained that this final prayer 'was going to be collected' by the officiant:

'Cum autem is, qui orationem collecturus est, e terra surrexerit, omnes pariter eriguntur, ita ut nullus nec antequam inclinetur ille genu flectere nec cum e terra surrexerit remorari praesumat, ne non tam secutus fuisse illius conclusionem, qui precem colligit, quam suam celebrasse credatur'.[13]

This final prayer represented the prayers of the entire congregation and was said by the leading priest as the single representative of the people there present. Capelle relied on Cassian's explanation of the final prayer in his attempt to trace the origins of the collect, arguing that the Western liturgy from the ninth century onwards understood the term in the Cassian understanding of it.[14]

Many elements of the Western collect are present in Cassian's account, in spite of the fact that its relation to the Mass is not specified. Its place at the conclusion of the office and its relationship to the collected prayers of all the people present are certainly essential to the collect. Further, Cassian insisted that this final prayer had to be brief, since an overlong prayer would make the congregation restless and noisy as they would begin to cough and sneeze(!) with the accumulation of saliva and phlegm.[15] The Western



Church had no difficulty in accepting the short and final office collect.

It is arguable that a condensed version of the eleven prayers as described in Cassian's account was transported to southern France where a similar account of them has been preserved in the two letters, 'Expositio brevis antiquae liturgiae gallicanae', spuriously attributed to Germanus, Bishop of Paris (555-576), and more accurately a mid-seventh-century description of a southern French liturgy.[16] In the first letter, an account of the mass, reference is made to the deacon's precem pro populo. [17] This prayer was intended to symbolize the gathering together of the needs of the people: 'Precem vero psallere leuitas pro populo...pro populo deprecant et sacerdotes prostrati ante dominum pro peccatis populi intercedant'. [18] That some sort of eastern borrowing had already occurred in southern France is indicated by the mention of the oratio plebis in the Council of Lyons, under the reign of Sigismond in 518, a prayer which was to be recited after the gospel reading in the Mass. [19]

Of more importance in the 'Expositio' is the allusion to the Collectam post Precem which was said by the priest at the dismissal of the catechumens, a rite which was still recited in spite of some doubt raised as to its actual liturgical significance. [20] After the Intercession, which consisted of readings from the Old and New Testament and prayers, this part of the mass was concluded by the Collectam post Precem:

'audirent consilium ueteris et noui testamenti postea deprecarent



pro illis leuite diceret sacerdos Collecta<m> post Prece<m> <et>  
exirent postea foris qui<a> digni non erant stare <in ecclesia>  
dum inferebatur oblatio...'[21]

It was a signal for the catechumens to leave the inner rooms of the church before the beginning of the Communion with its proper set of mass prayers. Here is a clear reference to the collecta as a formal conclusion of the Intercession of the mass in the Gallican liturgy. The collectam post precem featured commonly in Gallican mass books of the eighth century, in spite of the 'Romanized' elements which many of the books began to incorporate by this time.[22] The Gallican use of this prayer as described in the 'Expositio' pre-dated the Roman infiltration in the following century.

The subsequent popularity of the collect in the mass and offices of the Western Church in the years leading up to and in the aftermath of the Carolingian reforms remains uncharted. Perhaps it could not have been so well-received (or received so early on) without the impetus which the Gallican liturgy gave to it. Still it must be said that the interpretation and place of the collect in the mass and offices were developed most clearly among the Frankish liturgists who, admittedly, were also strong supporters of the Roman church.

Many of the Ordines Romani, although clearly Roman in origin, show signs of Frankish adaptations.[23] These changes have largely elucidated the meaning and use of the term oratio in the offices. This argument has depended on an analysis of both Roman versions of Ordo I, and its Frankish derivatives, Ordines V and XV. The earliest

version (=A) of Ordo XIII, which Andrieu claimed had left Rome by c.750 (composed probably during the pontificate of Sergius, 687-701), and its monastic source in Ordo XIV, a guide to the liturgical practices in St. Peter's from the mid-seventh-century, have been compared with three Frankish redactions concerned with the liturgical offices: Ordines XVI, XVII, and XVIII.[24] Ordines XVI and XVIII were probably written in mid-eighth and late eighth century, respectively, with the intention of introducing Roman practices into the local rites of Gaul. For example, Ordo XVIII is provided with a grand Roman title for what textually can be regarded as an Ordo for a small monastic community under the influence of Luxeuil.[25] The compiler of Ordo XVII borrowed literal phrases from Ordines XV and XVI, indicating that it was acceptable for further revisions to be made upon the early Frankish redactions.

Modifications in Ordo V offer new explanations for the use of the collect in the mass. The instructions in Ordo I, 'post hoc dirigens se iterum ad populum dicens: "Pax vobis", et regerans se ad orientem dicit: "Oremus", et sequitur oratio',[26] received an illuminating gloss in Ordo V: 'Sequitur oratio prima, quam collectam dicunt, usque: "Per dnm nrm", ..'[27] Andrieu has found the source for this gloss in the 'Eclogae de ordine romano', a mid-ninth-century Frankish description of the mass spuriously attributed to Amalarius on account of a note added by a slightly later hand to a copy of the text in St. Gall 614.[28] In the 'Eclogae', the etymology of the 'collecta' is explained as relating to one of the four types of prayers used in the mass. The word 'collect' derives from 'the people who are gathered together into one...'[29] Once again, it has taken a Gallican source

rather than a Roman one to come up with an explicit definition of what is meant by the term 'collect'. But it should be noted that this is not the same as the Cassian definition of the petitions of the people collected into the one prayer.

Ordo XV has expanded the use of oratio in the mass, as borrowed from Ordo I, to oratio de ipsa die pertinemem. This description embraces a very important characteristic of the collect, i.e., its variability.[30] But the Frankish Ordines relating to the offices, Ordines XVI, XVII and XVIII, made no mention of the authorization of the collect in the offices, although other liturgical formulae were specified. In Ordo XVI, homilies with responsories and antiphons were sung at Lauds pertaining to a specific day (eg. the vigil of Nativity); and in Ordo XVII, c.119, psalms and responsories were authorized for Lauds and Vespers between Pentecost and Advent.[31] Moreover, the office lections were established for the night offices early on, as demonstrated by Ordo XIV, which represents a mid-seventh century ordo for the Basilica of St. Peter's, and Ordo XIII A which adapted Ordo XIV for the Lateran in the first part of the eighth century. Later Gallican copies left this part of the lectionary fairly well unaltered, preferring the form in which they had received it from Rome, cf. versions B-D.[32]

In 816, the development of the ecclesiastical offices in the Carolingian church received an important impetus from several conciliar decrees which aimed to bring the Gallican observances more in line with the Roman rite. The two most important decrees for the

purposes of this argument are the 816 revision of Chrodegang's 'Regula canonicorum', which he originally wrote for his cathedral community at Metz in c.754, and the 'Institutio canonicorum', issued from Aachen on 23 August 816, and attributed largely to Benedict of Aniane. According to the most recent study of Benedict of Aniane's work, both of these 816 Aachen decrees formed part of the 'sistemazione' promulgated under Louis the Pious and his chief aid, Benedict of Aniane.[33] These decrees were largely concerned with the canonical offices. However, the explication of the offices in the Aachen decrees paid little attention to the collect, at least in terms of defining its exact place in the office liturgy.

Of the two compilations, the 'Regula canonicorum' is concerned more with setting out formulaic details. The eighty-six chapters of the 816 version should be considered an enlargement of the provincial and abbreviated Rule of thirty-four chapters compiled by Chrodegang in c.754.[34] A large part of the additional material include the actual citation of the incipits to collects. This implied that collects were expected to form part of the offices. For example, in the section on Prime and the Chapter meeting, the 816 version added the incipit to the prayer 'Dirigere et sanctificare'. This collect occurs in the provisions added to the Durham Collectar by the Chester-le-Street community.[35] Although the term collecta was not explicitly used, the prayer represented an important interpolation over and above the source for this passage in Chapter 8 of Chrodegang's original Rule. The frequency with which the collect incipits were cited throughout the 816 version indicates that the collects played an important role in the offices at this time, as important, in fact, as the psalms,

antiphons and hymns.[36]

The 816 version introduces a section (c.79) on 'the [service-]books which everyone ought to have with him in the church.' Unfortunately, the list omits several of the important office-books, so that the absence of the collectar is not by itself very significant: 'by means of [these books] it is possible to understand masses, epistles, gospels, baptisms, penance, the cycles of the years, and night-readings. If anyone does not have such books, he should step down from the Church.'[37] Not even the antiphonary, or in this case the 'singing of antiphons' was mentioned, despite the fact the Aachen liturgists must have known that Helizachar was currently compiling a new 'antiphonary' for the Aachen chapel.[38]

This omission in the book-lists continued in Anglo-Saxon England during the last years of the tenth century. Abbot Aelfric of Eynsham, noted for his writings on liturgical education and for his Anglo-Saxon translations of homilies and parts of the Bible, also took a special interest in composing letters on pastoral care.[39] His 'Letter to Wulfsize' written in Anglo-Saxon, c.992-1002, identified ten books that were necessary tools (the 'spiritalia arma') for the presbiter or parish priest; but the collectar was not among them.[40] This may imply that the ordinary parish priest was not required, on a regular basis, to perform the daily office. Certainly, in Aelfric's 'Letter to the Monks of Eynsham,' which structurally amounted to his version of the Regularis Concordia, collect incipits form a major part of the letter. In nearly every case, these incipits are additions which

Aelfric had made to his exemplar.[41] His monks must have required specific liturgical directions, which have made it possible to determine that the recitation of collects in the monastic offices was an essential task for the monks.

Benedict of Aniane's 'Institutio' did not provide any specific information about the office collect. The compilers were content to issue the decree in the Amalarian tone of allegories and narratives. The single reference to prayer in the offices was delivered in the words of a Pauline epistle: 'They are obligated first of all that supplications [obsecrationes], prayers [orationes], entreaties [postulationes] and the giving of thanks [gratiarum actiones] should be done by them for all men...'[42] While the 'Institutio' paid particular attention to the behaviour required by clerics, these concerns offered little elucidation toward the recitation of collects in the offices of the Carolingian liturgy. It left the working out of the finer points of the liturgy and its formulae to other customaries which each local community would have produced.

The clearest and most succinct account of the collect in both mass and office liturgy has survived in Walahfrid's ninth-century history of the liturgy, 'De exordiis et incrementis quarundam in observationibus ecclesiasticis rerum.'[43] The relevant passages merit a full quotation here:

'Orationes vero, quas collectas dicimus quia necessarias petitiones earum compendiosa brevitare colligimus, id est concludimus, diversi auctores, ut cuique videbatur congruum,



confecerunt. Solebant enim non solum inter officia missae, verum etiam in aliis orationibus, conventibus et colloctionibus, qui caeteris aderant eminentiores, brevi oratione opus concludere; quod et in sanctorum patrum exemplis agnoscimus, dum alii alios honorificentiae causa orationem colligere postulabant. Et venerabilis doctor Augustinus in quibusdam sermonibus suis ad populum ita terminavit locutionem, ut diceret extremo: "Conversi ad Dominum", ubi intellegitur oratione subiuncta communem petitionem ad Dominum direxisse. Sic etiam nunc solent sacerdotes in conclusionibus nocturnae vel diurnae synaxeos orationes breves, id est collectas, subiungere. Sunt enim aliae tales, ut non alibi, circa sacrificii celebrationem sint dicendae, sunt vero aliae, quibus et in officio missae et non minus in aliis locis et temporibus possumus uti.'

Walahfrid's concluding remarks on the collect referred to the attempt made by Pope Gregory to consolidate the multiplicity of prayers which had accrued to the Gallican liturgy:

'Crescente autem, sicut praediximus, religionis cultu divinae crescebat etiam paulatim orationum et officiorum ecclesiae compositio multis et ex summa scientia et ex mediocri et ex minima addentibus,....Nam et Gelasius papa in Ordine LI tam a se, quam ab aliis compositas preces dicitur ordinasse, et Galliarum ecclesiae suis orationibus utebantur, quae et adhuc a multis habentur. Et quia tam incertis auctoribus multa videbantur incerta et sensus integritatem non habentia, curavit beatus Gregorius rationabilia quaeque coadunare et seclasis his, quae vel nimia vel inconcinna videbantur, composuit librum, qui

dicatur sacramentorum, sicut ex titulo eius manifestissime declaratur, in quo, si aliqua inveniuntur adhuc sensu claudicantia, non ab illo inserta, sed ab aliis minus diligentibus postea credenda sunt superaddita.'

Walahfrid explains that the collect (collecta), is so-called 'because we have "collected", that is compressed, their essential petitions in a short summary, [which] have been put together by various authorities as seemed appropriate to each of them.' This bears little resemblance to the Roman and to the 'Eclogae' definition of gathering (or collecting) the congregation before the stational church where a short prayer was traditionally recited.[44] Whatever the true derivation of the term may be, Walahfrid knew it only as a collection of requests. One may well wonder why the Roman concept of the congregation gathering before a stational church was omitted from his sources in this section of the 'De Exordiis'.

The basic function of this short prayer ('brevi oratione') was to conclude, not only the Mass ('officia missae') but also a number of liturgical/non-liturgical meetings: addresses, meetings, and homilies ('orationibus, conventibus et colloctionibus'). The historical point at which the collect was transferred from the mass to the office was a wholly natural -- and apparently dateless -- occurrence: 'In the same way today priests are used to adding short prayers, that is collects, at the conclusions of night or day offices.'[45] From Walahfrid's perspective, the collect consecrated any activity at which it was said, regardless of the authorization from any conciliar decree. It could be interpreted as the spoken element which cemented the relationship between liturgy and language. Its recitation at the mass



sanctified that service; it would do the same for the offices. Indeed, Walahfrid took special care to explain how often and for how many functions the collect was used.

Walahfrid did not fully investigate the origins of the collect. He was more concerned with distinguishing how they should be used: 'there are some kinds that are for saying no where else than at the celebration of the sacrifice; however, there are others which we can use both in the office of the mass and also in other places and other times.' It may be reading too much into the passage to note here a reference to the internal prayers of the mass, such as the secreta, the praefatio, and often the postcommunio, all of which were restricted in the ninth century to the mass; and a reference to the external prayers of the mass-set, i.e., the collecta, super populum and aliae orationes which frequently occurred both in the sacramentaries and in the collectars.[46] It is regrettable that recent scholarship on the study of collectar texts has not taken Walahfrid's account more seriously, as it is clear that a subsidiary function of the collect was to interrelate the mass with the offices. Ninth-century liturgists did not intend to segregate one type of prayer, or book, from the other.[47]

The most definitive statement on the office collect and its relation, or concordia, to the collect of the mass appeared in the 'Micrologus de ecclesiasticis observationibus', written 1085 by one of the strongest defenders of the Roman liturgy, Bernold of Constance, priest, and later monk of Schaffhausen (c.1054-1100). The second part

of the 'Micrologus', which Baumer argued was compiled not for public reading but as a priest's guide, was concerned with the ecclesiastical offices.[48] Nearly identical to Walahfrid, Bernold defined the prima oratio in missa as 'quam Collectam dicunt, eo quod sacerdos, qui legatione fungitur pro populo ad Dominum, omnium petitiones ea oratione colligat atque concludat'. He was aware of the alternative derivation, but gave it less credibility as the use of videntur implies:

'Ille tamen orationes specialius Collectae vocari videntur, quae apud Romanos super collectam populi fiunt, dum colligitur, ut procedat de una ecclesia in aliam, ad stationem faciendam;...'.[49]

In chapter 61, Bernold explained what he believed should have been a commonly held law of liturgical observation: the collect of the mass should agree with the office, a concordiam which was first instituted by St. Gregory:

Sciendum autem quod sanctus Gregorius ita ecclesiastica ordinavit officia, ut prima oratio in missa, officio, lectioni et evangelio semper concordet, sicut in omnibus solemnitatibus deprehendi potest.[50]

Implicit in his argument for concordiam is the assumption that the 'office of the day', i.e., the liturgical feast, determined the setting, or text, of the mass collect. He explained that the mass collect ('prima oratio in missa') must correspond with the liturgical feast ('omnibus solemnitatibus'); also that the mass collect must correspond with the epistle and gospel ('ut prima oratio in missa...lectioni et evangelio semper concordet'), thereby associating

the epistle and gospel was associated with the feast or 'office' as well.

For Bernold, the feast or officium functioned as the apex of the pyramid, under which the collect of the mass and the epistle and gospel were structured. It is possible to take his argument one step further and to see that his concordiam also referred to the cursus of the daily offices. This is evident if the examples of the mass collects and epistle and gospel readings, which Bernold cited, are traced to their occurrence in the later Anglo-Saxon service-books. For example, Bernold cited the collect 'Deprecationem nostram qs dne benignus exaudi' in his criticism of the practice of reciting it on the third Sunday after the octave of Pentecost; it should correctly occur on the octave of Pentecost. This collect appears in a selection of Anglo-Saxon missals and office books for the forbidden third Sunday after the Pentecost octave in the mass and offices, respectively.[51] The Missal of New Minster designates the 'Deprecationem' collect for the collect of the mass, and the Hyde Abbey Breviary designates it for the collect in every office of that Sunday.

Similarly, Bernold's instructions that the collect 'O. s. ds qui abundantia' should be recited in association with the gospel reading 'Duo homines' (Luke 18, 9-14) has been ignored by the Anglo-Saxon witnesses. The collect survives in the Missal of New Minster (p.35) and in the Hyde Abbey Breviary (f.160r) as the mass collect and office collect, respectively, for the twelfth Sunday after the octave of Pentecost. The gospel text occurs in the New Minster

Missal (p.34) and in the Hyde Abbey Breviary (f.159v) for the gospel reading in the mass and for the office chapter reading, respectively, for the eleventh Sunday after the octave of Pentecost. Clearly Bernold's attempt to establish concordiam between the liturgical feasts and the collects and gospel texts must have referred simultaneously to the mass and the office. Certainly, the service-books which have preserved the dis-concordiam which Bernold criticized, have erred in both the mass and the office.

None of the sources of the 'Micrologus' explain the concordiam of the office and the mass in precisely these terms, beyond the general phrase in the Ordines of 'oratio de ipsa die pertinenens'. [52] It is likely that although Bernold relied on established Roman practice in southern Germany, the association of the mass collect with the daily office had to be made explicit in the liturgies north of the Alps in an effort to avoid liturgical chaos.

Despite the silence surrounding most of the non-liturgical evidence so far examined, the term collectaneum is cited with a notable degree of frequency in inventories surviving from certain south-German churches, and in a chronicle of the St. Gallen monastery. This paradox is puzzling in view of the fact that these citations occur by the very end of Walahfrid's life in the mid-ninth century, and certainly well into the time when the Aachen decrees would have had an effect on the Frankish liturgical books. The earliest of these is a list of possessions dated to 842, belonging to the parish church of Bibereck in the diocese of Freising to which the

books were being transferred by the Bibereck priest Oato. One collectarius is listed among other well-known liturgical books such as a missal, a lectionary, and an antiphonary.[53] A charter of 855 mentions another collectarium which Bishop Arno of Freising (855-875) gave to Herolf when this priest became 'chorepiscopus' to the parish church of Thankkirchen. In addition to this collectar, Bishop Arno generously provided him with other items, among them, three missals, three lectionaries, a psalter in three volumes, an exposition of the psalms, one antiphonal, a plenarium, a commentary on Matthew, and such required vestments as three dalmatics, six chasubles and six albs.[54] A third inventory listing the treasures and books belonging to Villip bei Bonn, a domainal chapel of Prüm Abbey ('Kapelle des Salhofes'), taken the year Abbot Answald of Prüm died in 886, mentions one collectarium along with two missals, one lectionary, two antiphonals, and two homiliaries.[55]

The great St. Gallen inventories of the third quarter of the ninth century mention four collectars residing in the monastery of St. Gallen, covering between them the full cycle of the liturgical year: from Advent to Easter and then from Easter back again to Advent. Like the sacramentary, at this early date the collectar seemed to have been organized chronologically.[56]

If, as has been evident, the liturgical historians and ecclesiastical decrees often remained silent about the collectar, the early documentary sources including a significant quantity of southern German inventories have proven to be more informative. Collectars

were circulating as early as the eighth century in both monastic and secular communities, those from the former surviving in greater quantity. The precise meaning which these documents attribute to collectaneum and the level of standardization which existed among them can only be accurately assessed by means of a detailed examination of the earliest surviving collectars. If the Durham Collectar has been considered unique because it is the earliest surviving collectar in England, this should at the very least be placed within the continental perspective. Liturgists today are still able to consult collectars which pre-date the Durham Collectar by over one hundred years.



#### Additional Note

One possible solution for the absence of the term 'collecta' in the ecclesiastical decrees may stem from an ambiguity of the Latin used in the Rule of St. Benedict, from which all the later rules and conciliar decrees have drawn their inspiration. The discussion of the daily office in chapter 17, which briefly outlines the contents of prime, terce, sext, none, vespers and compline, mentions the word missa (or missae) four times. The textual definition remains highly controversial, a problem which is not helped by the variant readings in the manuscripts. Of the continental manuscripts considered most authentic to St. Benedict's version, the earliest surviving copy is Oxford Bodleian Ms. Hatton 48, dated to c.720, perhaps from a Northumbrian-founded monastic scriptorium under St. Wilfrid (d. 709). The second important witness is St. Gallen Ms.914, produced c.815 from a copy which Charlemagne ordered from the supposed original manuscript of St. Benedict. A third witness is the famous English copy of the Rule, the 'Abingdon Copy', CCCC Ms. 57, produced in the early eleventh century, probably at Abingdon.[57] The variant readings over missa which occur among these manuscripts are notable and are tabulated in the notes.[58]

The controversy centres on the translation of missa as a noun, meaning 'concluding prayer', or as a verb, when it has somewhat imprecisely been associated with 'completum est', meaning 'it is completed'. [59] A further confusion arose over the construction missae facere, occurring in all three manuscripts for Vespers and Compline. This could be translated either as 'to do [a particular type of formula]' or 'to be dismissed'. Since the Council of Agde in 506 (c.30) had established that Compline must end with the benedictions, it seems fairly obvious that the second meaning is what is implied here in these later copies of the Benedictine Rule. In Prime, Terce, Sext and None, the continental manuscripts (Oxford, Hatton and St. Gallen) have used 'et missas' or 'et missas sunt', while the 'Abingdon Copy' modified the text to read 'cum precibus et missae fiunt'. It is arguable that the continental manuscripts have preserved a distinction between Vespers and Compline on the one hand, and Prime through None on the other. The use of 'et missas sunt' would seem to indicate that some type of concluding prayers was used to indicate the dismissal; hence this construction was cited whenever an alternative formulae was not given (eg., 'oratio dominica' for Vespers, and 'benedictiones' for Compline). The scribes of the English manuscripts have ignored this distinction and modified the text to accommodate their own practices. The 'cum precibus' may have referred to the capitella which the Irish service-books have customarily used to end the office hours.[60]

For the purposes of this study, it is sufficient to note that there is a semantic problem over the mention of the concluding collect in St. Benedict's Rule, and that this may have contributed to the profound silence over the collect from the liturgical rules and ecclesiastical decrees. For an explanatory account of the use of the collect in the Western liturgy there is no evidence which could compare with the precision which Isidore of Seville used to describe

his account of the Spanish rite: 'In tertia, sexta, vel nona tres psalmi dicendi sunt, responsorium unum, lectiones ex Veteri Novoque Testamento duae, deinde laudes, hymnus atque oratio. In vespertinis autem officiis primo lucernarium, deinde psalmi duo, responsorius unus, et laudes, hymnus atque oratio dicenda est.'[61]



## Notes to Chapter One

1. H. Gneuss, 'Liturgical books in Anglo-Saxon England and their Old English Terminology,' Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England, edd. M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss (1985), 113.

2. Du Cange and D.P. Carpenterius, Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis, ed. G.A.L. Henschel (1842) t.2, 405.

3. For the argument over the interpretation of oratio ad collectam' as (a) collected people, or (b) collected prayers of the people, see the summary account in B. Capelle, 'Collecte,' RB, 42(1930), 197-204, and G.G. Willis, Further Essays in Early Roman Liturgy (Alcuin Club Collections, 50, 1968), 106-107.

4. 'Concilium Agathense,' ed. C. Munier, Concilia Galliae. A.314-A.506 (CCsl, 148, 1963), 206. PL, 84(1850), col.267.

5. F. Cabrol, et. al., Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie, v.1, col.875-876, has traced the recitation of the benediction of the people back to the third Council of Carthage. But its association with the super populum is doubtful; L. Eizenhofer,

'Untersuchungen zum Stil und Inhalt der römischen Oratio super populum,' EL 52(1938), 258-311; A.W.S. Porter, The Gallican Rite (Studies in Eucharistic Faith and Practice, 1958), 29, acknowledged Eastern influence in the preces, or 'diaconal litany', which he distinguishes from the Western super populum.

6. DACL, v.1, col.876, and v.2, col.2041. See J.B.L. Tolhurst The Monastic Breviary of Hyde Abbey, v.6, 18ff.

7. Caesarius of Arles, 'Regula ad monachos,' PL, 67(1865), col.1097-1104. Aurelianus of Arles, 'Regula ad monachos,' PL, 68(1866), esp. col.393-396. See E. Bishop, Liturgica Historica (1918), 126-127.

8. Caesarius, PL 67(1865), col.1102,n.f. Unfortunately, the gloss to the 'Regula ad monachos' in PL(1865) associated capitellum to the capitulum or lectiunculae (the chapter reading), referring to the collectiones in Agde, c.30. See corrections in DACL, v.1 on Agde, note 5 above; and in Tolhurst, n.6 above.

9. John Cassian, Institutions cenobitiques, ed. J-C. Guy (Sources Chrétiennes, 109, 1965); 'De coenobiorum institutis,' PL, 49(1846), esp. col.417-420.

10. 'Undecim psalmos orationum interiectione...duodecimum sub alleluiae responsione consummans,' Cassian, Sources Chrétiennes, 68. See L. Brou, The Psalter Collects: from V-VIth Century Sources (from the papers of the late Dom A. Wilmart), HBS, 83(1949), 10-11, on the psalter-collects, which may have derived from the Cassian tradition. For precem, see text above, 5,7.

11. DACL, v.2, col.2356.

12. 'Qui necdum bene finito psalmo in orationem procumbere festinamus, ad celeritatem missae quantocius properantes', Cassian, Sources Chrétiennes, 70. Missae should be translated as the 'office', see commentary from Alardus Gazaeus in PL, 49(1846), col.91, n.a: 'Nam missa hoc loco et passim apud Cassianum non accipitur pro sacrificio liturgico, quod sacrificium Missae appellatur; sed pro missione, seu dimissione, quae fiebat peracto officio divino, psalmodia, vel oratione, ad quam monachi convenerant,...'

13. Cassian, Sources Chrétiennes, 72.

14. Capelle, 'Collecte,' 200-201. A. Dold, 'Die Zürcher und Peterlinger Messbuch-Fragmente,' Texte und Arbeiten 25(1934), xxxff. Porter, Gallican Rite, 24, argues that the Gallican collect among the early books is not variable, whereas the Roman collect always is variable. The Gallican 'collect' was eventually superseded by a version of the Roman collect of the day. See Willis, Further Essays,

15. Cassian, Sources Chrétiennes, 76.

16. Expositio brevis antiquae liturgiae Gallicanae, ed. E.C. Ratcliff, HBS 98(1971). The letters survive only in Autun 119. E. Martène's original edition was reprinted in PL 72(1849), col.8-98, where it is erroneously attached to J. Mabillon's De Liturgia Gallicana Libri Tres, reprinted ibid, 99-448. See Porter, Gallican Rite; L. Duchesne, Christian Worship, its origin and evolution (1927), 155. Wilmart, DACL, t.6.1, 1049ff, suggested it originated in s.France, c.700; for the precem pro populo, see ibid, 1074-78.

17. Expositio, 8, no.14. E. Bishop, Liturgica Historica (1918), 122, notes the proper translation as 'prayer for the people', and not 'of the people'.

18. Expositio, 8, no.14. Porter, Gallican Rite, 198-201. Wilmart, DACL, v.6.1, col.1075-1077, argues that the precem pro populo, as a type of diaconal prayer or litany, must be distinguished from the collecta post precem. The former originated in fourth-century Antioch, and was disseminated to Constantinople, whence it gained acceptance at Rome. It was regularly used in the Western Church from the fourth through the sixth centuries, but fell out of use thereafter. Porter's translation and use of the 'Prayers of the Faithful' is incorrect; see Bishop above, note 17.

19. 'Concilium Lugdunense,' Concilia Africae, A.345-A.525, ed. C. Munier (CCsl, 149, 1974), 41.

20. L. Duchesne, Early History of the Christian Church, 202, questions whether the catechumens were dismissed at all. But Porter, Gallican Rite, 30-31, argues for attributing it to an earlier Gallican practice associated with the Offertory.

21. Expositio, ed. Ratcliff, 9, no.15, esp.n.2: 'From the form of the author's allusion we may infer that in this, as in other Gallican liturgies, a Collecta or Collectio post Precem concluded the Intercession.'

22. Cf. W.J. Anderson, 'Fragments of an Eighth-century Gallican Sacramentary,' Journal of Theological Studies 29(1928), 338, 'the Mass begins...with the "Collectio post precem"'; note the edited text, ibid, 345.

23. M. Andrieu, Les "Ordines Romani" du Haut Moyen Age, 5 vols. (1931, 1948-51, 1956-61). C. Vogel, Medieval Liturgy: an Introduction to the Sources, trans. and revised by W.G. Storey and N.K. Rasmussen (1986), 145-147. It is acknowledged that the exemplars of the Ordines Romani, a seventh-century/early eighth-century collection of liturgical prescriptions for St. Peter's and the Lateran and for the surrounding churches of Rome, were dispersed to the north, as individual or small groups of libelli. The

Franks adaptation and use of these Roman Ordines have been the subject of much scholarly attention, and are significant here for information concerning the Gallican Offices as opposed to the Roman. For evidence of the late tenth-century attempt, possibly at Mainz, to unify these diverse Frankish-adapted ordines, see Andrieu, Le Pontifical Romain au moyen Age (Studi e Testi, 86-89, 1938, 1940-41); and C. Vogel and R. Elze, Les Pontificaux Romano-germaniques, (Studi e Testi, 1963).

24. For date of Ordo I, see Andrieu, OR, v.2, 38-51. Ordo XVI and possibly Ordo XVIII were revised by the same monk who wrote Ordo XV; cf. Andrieu, OR, v.3, 131ff. But the 'Roman'-elements of any given Ordo are questionable; cf. the controversy as to the date and origins of, for example, Ordo XI in Andrieu, OR, v.2, 367,n.2, and 409-413. For invaluable summaries, see Vogel, Medieval Liturgy, 144-197; Bishop, Liturgica Historica, esp.153ff. (pre-dating Andrieu); and T. Klauser, A Short History of the Western Liturgy (2nd edn., 1979), 59-60 (based on Andrieu).

25. Ordo XVIII: 'Item de curso diurno vel nocturno, qualiter oras canonicas nuntiantur in sancte sedis romane ecclesie sive in monasteriis constitutis;' ed. Andrieu, OR, v.3, 205 and 201: 'probablement de l'obedience de Luxeuil et recemment fondée,'

26. Ordo I, c.53, ed. Andrieu, OR, v.2, 84-85.

27. Ordo V, c.25, ed. Andrieu, OR, v.2, 214 and n.25.
28. Ordo V, ed. Andrieu, OR, v.2, 214,n.25; 'Eclogae de officio missae,' ed. PL, 105(1864), col.1315-1332.
29. 'Eclogae', PL, 105, col.1327.
30. Ordo XV, c.18, ed. Andrieu, OR, v.3, 99 and note.
31. Ordo XVI, c.24, ed. Andrieu, OR, v.3, 150, compare with Ordo XV, c.8, ed. Andrieu, OR, v.3, 96; Ordo XVII, c.119, ed. Andrieu, OR, v.3, 193, compare with Ordo XVI, c.53, ed. Andrieu, OR, v.3, 154. Contrast these with Stephen's 'Liber capitularis' (c.910) in which he combined 'singula capitula cum responsoriis uel uersibus siue eciam collectis'; ed. C. Mohlberg, 'Spuren eines verlorenen Liturgiebuches, des Liber capitularis Stephans v. Tongern († 920),' Mélanges d'histoire offerts à Ch. Moeller, 1 (1914), 357, trans. in Appendix III of this thesis.
32. See Ordo XIV, ed. Andrieu, v.3, 39-41, which contains the order of lessons for the night offices; Ordo XIII, version A (Roman), versions B-D (Frankish), ed. Andrieu, v.2, contains the order of lessons for the night offices. The redactions often include the phrase 'ad ipsum diem pertinentes', which occurs, for example, in Ordo XIII (B), c.3-4, 499, and in Ordo XIII (D), c.7, 521.

33. R. Grégoire, 'Benedetto di Aniane nella riforma monastica carolingia,' Studi Medievali, 26.11 (1985), 591ff, argues that the programme of ecclesiastical reform was a deliberate one. The 816 decree was followed by a second in 817 for monks, and a third in 818-819, for non-community clerics and special ecclesiastical problems associated with them.

34. 'La règle de saint Chrodegang, ed. J.-B. Pelt, Etudes sur la cathédrale de Metz, 1(1937), pp.7-28. For the 816 expanded version, see 'Regula canonicorum,' ed. D'Achery, PL, 89(1863), col.1054-1102. Pelt's reappraisal of the manuscript history surrounding the 756 version of the Regula may alter liturgists's understanding of Chrodegang's original intentions. The earliest surviving copy of the Regula in Bern Ms. 289, s.viii.ex, Metz origins, carries only chapters 9-31, omitting the chapters relating to the offices. These are provided in the later Leiden manuscripts, one of which, however, Leiden Voss. lat.94, Pelt would argue is closer to Chrodegang's original version than the Bern manuscript.

35. Durham Ritual 1009 (Lindelof edn., p.171), occurs among the Gallican Capitella for Prime.

36. Other modifications to Chrodegang's 'Regula', resulting in the addition of collect incipits, occur in the following chapters of the 816 'Regula': chapters 14 and 15 are substantial enlargements over chapter 5 of the c.754 original, concerning the order and liturgical incipits for Nocturns; chapter 18 is a greatly expanded



version of chapter 8 (c.756 version), suggesting that the Chapter meeting was an area of major confusion and contention in the Frankish church; chapter 23 is the last chapter, although it occurred near the beginning (chapter 4) in the c.754 version, and has also been seriously modified.

37. 'Regula canonicorum' of 816, c.79: 'Hi sunt libri, quos habere debet unusquisque sacerdos in sua ecclesia, per quos missas, et epistolas, seu Evangelium, vel baptisterium, seu poenitentiam, aut circulos annorum, sive lectiones nocturnales, intelligi potest. Si quis tales non habuerit, ab Ecclesia degradetur,...'; ed. PL 89(1863), col.1090.

38. Helisachar, 'Epistola Nidibril, Narbonensis ecclesiae archiepiscopi,' ed. E. Bishop in Liturgica Historica (1918), 337-339; trans. A.L.H. Corrêa, 'Texts, Chant and the Chapel of Louis the Pious,' by D.A Bullough and A.L.H. Corrêa, paper presented at the Pembroke College, Oxford conference, March, 1986 (publ. forthcoming).

39. P. Clemons, 'The Chronology of Aelfric's Works,' The Anglo-Saxons: Studies in Some Aspects of their History and Culture presented to Bruce Dickins, ed. P. Clemons (1959), 218-219, 243-245.

40. 'Aelfric's Pastoral Letter for Wulfsize III,' ed. D. Whitelock, et.al., Councils and Synods with other Documents relating to the English Church, 1 (1981), c.52, 206-207: 'saltere 7 pistolboc,

godspellboc 7 mæsseboc, sangboc 7 handboc, gerim 7 pastoraem [or passionaem], penitentialaem 7 rædingboc'. For analysis of the liturgical terminology, see M. McC. Gatch, Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England: Aelfric and Wulfstan (1977), 40-44; and see Gneuss, Learning and Literature, 91-141.

41. 'Aelfric's letter to the monks of Eynsham,' ed. M. Bateson, Compotus Rolls of the Obedientiaries of St. Swithun's Priory, Winchester, ed. G.W. Kitchen (1892), 171-198. Cf. citations of DC 23.4, 'Erudi qs dne' (Aelfric, 180); DC 40.8, '[Preces populi tui...] ut qui iuste pro peccatis nostris' (Aelfric, 180-1); DC 41.8, 'Deus qui conspicias' (Aelfric, 181). And see special services in Aelfric's letter which require additional collects: for king and benefactors (Aelfric 175); for departed brethren (Aelfric, 176); at morning Confession on the Lord's Nativity (Aelfric, 179); for administering Ashes at None on Ash Wednesday (Aelfric, 182); for processions on Ash Wednesday (Aelfric, 182), Palm Sunday (Aelfric, 183); for full offices on Easter Sunday and Easter Week (Aelfric, 190), etc.

42. Benedict of Aniane, 'Institutio canonicorum,' c.131, ed. MGH, Legum Sectio 3, Concilia 2.1 (1906), 408.

43. Walahfrid Strabo, 'Libellus de exordiis...', ed. V. Krause, MGH, Legum Sectio 2, Capitularia Regum Francorum, 2(1897); the following two quotes are taken from p.498. I am grateful to my mother, A.L.H. Corrêa, for providing me with the following

translation from her forthcoming thesis, 'Walahfrid Strabo's "De exordiis"...:a translation and commentary':

Prayers, however, which we call collects, because we have 'collected', that is compressed, their essential petitions in a short summary, have been put together by various authorities as seemed appropriate to each of them. For those who were more prominent than the rest used to close a work with a short prayer, not only within the offices of the mass, but also at other addresses, meetings, and homilies; we perceive this in the writings of the holy Fathers whenever one requested someone else 'to collect' a prayer for an important occasion.

The venerable doctor, Augustine, in some of his talks to the public finished his discourse by saying: 'Turn to the Lord', where it is understood that by the addition of this prayer, he had drawn up a general petition to the Lord. In the same way today priests are used to adding short prayers, that is collects, at the conclusions of night or day offices. For there are some kinds that are for saying nowhere else than at the celebration of the sacrifice; however, there are others which we can use both in the office of the mass and also in other places and other times.

However, just as we said before, as the practice of the divine religion grew, the composition of prayers and offices for the church also grew gradually with many additions from excellent, mediocre and minimal knowledge;...

For it is said that Pope Gelasius, the fifty-first pope, had arranged preces that he had composed as well as those composed by others, and the Gallican churches used his prayers, which are still possessed by many churches.

And because so many things seemed uncertain by many doubtful authors and not having a sound meaning, blessed Gregory took the trouble to join together each of the reasonable things and, after he set aside those which seemed incomplete or absurd, he put together a book which is called a sacramentary, as is shown very clearly from its title; and if something is found there which is obscure in meaning, one must not believe they were placed there by Gregory, but added afterwards by others who were less diligent.

44. Capelle, 'Collecte,' 193; Willis, Further Essays, 106; see account of John Cassian in text above, 5-6, and of the 'Eclogae', above, 9.

45. But see 'De Exordiis', c.26, ed. MGH, 505, where Walahfrid makes a general case for an important liturgical development under Emperor Theodosius 'the Great' (379-395), when psalms and prayers for the office were regulated into the pattern which Strabo and his contemporaries were following in the first half of the ninth century: 'ea distributione psalmodum vel orationum, qua nunc utimur, quam et circa tempora Theodosii senioris inchoatam ac deinceps expletam multis animadvertimus causis.'

[with the distribution of psalms or prayers which we use now, and which we notice were begun and gradually completed for various reasons about the period of Theodosius the Elder (c.490 A.D.). -- trans. A.L.H. Correa]

46. See discussion of collectars pre-dating Durham Collectar [=DC] in the following chapter, esp. FrS and FrR, for evidence of these unspoken regulations governing the use of mass and office prayers.

47. Cf. E. Adda's 'excarpsus...per l'ufficio corale,' in 'L'Orazionale dell' Arcidiacono Pacifico,' in L'Orazionale dell' Arcidiacono Pacifico e il Carpsum del Cantore Stefano: Studi e testi sulla liturgica del duomo di Verona dal IX all' XI sec., edd. G.G. Meersseman, et. al. (1974), 53; and cf. discussion in Chapter Two, 41.

48. Bernold of Constance, 'Micrologus de ecclesiasticis observationibus,' PL, 151(1881), col. 973-1022; two unedited chapters, ed. S. Baumer RB 8(1891), 200-201. The 'Micrologus' covers the following topics: Chapters 1-21: mass; chapters 22-23: consecration; chapters 24-61: other rites.

49. 'Micrologus', c.3, ed. PL, 151, col.979; see Willis, Further Essays, 106.

50. Note that officio can refer to the divine offices (or kursus), or to the liturgical feast or setting of that day. Cf. J.F. Niermeyer, Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus (1976), 738, (12) 'un service divin quelconque...'; (13) 'la Messe'; (14) 'heures liturgiques'.

51. Westminster Missal, v.1, p.401 (Dom III post oct. Pent.); Missal of Robert of Jumièges, p.123 (ibid); Hereford Breviary, v.1, 463 (Dom III post Trinitatem); Missal of New Minster, n.143 (ibid); Hyde Abbey Breviary, f.155v (as collect for every office on Dom III post oct. Pent.).

52. Andrieu, OR, 2, 206,n.2, notes Bernold's dependence on Ordo V; 'de ipsa die pertinemem' derives from Ordo XV, see above, n.30.

53. B. Bischoff, Mittelalterliche Schatzverzeichnisse. I (1967), no.13. T. Bitterauf, Die Traditionen des Hochstifts Freising, 744-926, 1 (reprinted 1967), 551-552, no.654.

54. Bischoff, Schatzverzeichnisse, no.89; Bitterauf, Die Traditionen, 617, no.742.

55. Bischoff, Schatzverzeichnisse, no.97.

56. Ratpertus, 'De origine et diversis casibus monasterii S. Galli, A.570-883,' ed. I. von Arx, MGH, Scriptores, 2(1829), 70-74. Ed. P. Lehmann, Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz: Die Bistümer Konstanz und Chur, 1 (1918), no.17, p.84; no.18, p.85. Books collected under Abbot Grimald, c.854 (ed. MGH, 70): 'Collectarios duos in singulis voluminibus de adventu Domini usque in pascha.' Books collected under Abbot Hartmod, c.872 (ed. MGH, 72): 'Collectaria duo de pascha usque ad adventum Domini.'

57. The Rule of St. Benedict: the Abingdon Copy, ed. J. Chamberlin (1982), 5, 9, nn.10,12,23.

58. Instructions from Benedict's Rule for the way to end the offices, with variant readings:

(A)=St. Gallen Ms 914, (O)=Oxford, Bodleian Ms. Hatton 48, (g)=CCCC Ms.57.

Regula Sancti Benedicti, c.17, 'Quanti psalmi per easdem horas dicendi sint'.

(A),(O) [prime] 'Post expletionem trium psalmorum recitetur lectio una, uersus, "Kyrie eleison" et missas.'

'et missas' ] (g) 'cum precibus et missae fiunt.'

(A) [terce, sext, none] '...id est uersus ymnique earundem horarum, terni psalmi, lectio, uersus, "Kyrie eleison" et missas sunt.'

'et missas sunt' ] (O) 'et missa sunt', (g) 'cum precibus et missa est.'

(A) [vespers] 'Post quos psalmos lectio recitanda est; inde responsorium, ambrosianus, uersus, canticum de Aeuangelio, letaniae, et oratio dominica fiant missae.'

'fiant missae' ] (O) 'et fiant missae', (g) 'cum precibus et missae fiunt.'

(A),(O),(g) [compline] 'Post hos hymnus eiusdem horae lectio una et uersus, "Kyrie eleison," benedictiones et missae fiunt.'

59. For the use of missa as a noun, cf. John Cassian, 'De coenobiorum institutis,' c.7, ed. PL, 49(1846), col.91, n.(a), and see note 12 above. See also commentary in Isidore, 'Regula monachorum', c. 6, ed. PL, 83(1850), col.876, n.(4). But note erroneous commentary in Caesarius of Arles, 'Regula ad monachos,' c.20, ed. PL 67(1865), col.1101, n.(b): the missa should not be taken to mean 'lectiones quae fiunt cum ex utroque Testamento, tum ex passionibus martyrum'.

60. Tolhurst, Hyde Abbey Breviary, v.6, 18: 'the day hours should end with a series of verses as intercessions for various classes of persons...', taken from an analysis of the Rule of St. Columbanus, c.590. That the 'Abingdon Copy' has added cum precibus to a continental text would suggest that the phrase derived from an Irish source.

61. Isidore, 'Regula monachorum,' c.6, ed. PL, 83(1850),  
col.876.



## Chapter Two

### The development of collectars, 8th-12th c.

Any comprehensive examination of the Durham Cathedral Library Ms.A.IV.19 [=DC] and its place in the development of collectars must ask the question whether it is justified to include the 'collectar' as a liturgical book at all. If so, what characteristics distinguish the collectar? And how do these elements relate to the DC and to other so-called collectar books?

Relatively few medieval liturgical scholars are aware of a genre of liturgical book called the collectar. Many of the 'collectar' books that do survive are called by a variety of different names, or have survived bound together with a variety of different materials. In one case, the designation is a spurious one.[1]

Of the four Anglo-Saxon liturgical texts which Gneuss has rightly classified as 'collectar' texts,[2] scholars traditionally call the mid-eleventh century book from Worcester the 'Wulfstan Portiforium' [=Wp]; the book written during the episcopate of Leofric of Exeter is called the 'Leofric Collectar' [=Lf]; the 1023-1035 New Minster book for Dean Aelfwine is called a 'private manual of devotions' or 'prayer-book' [=Hy]; and the earliest witness, early tenth century, from the south of England, subsequently brought to and expanded at the

Chester-le-Street community by the end of that century, is misnamed the 'Durham Ritual' [=DC,ff.1-45; =DR,ff.61-88]

Gneuss confirmed that he could find no occurrence of an Anglo-Saxon equivalent of collectaria/collectaneum. [3] The fact that the Old English capitelarie does occur, though restricted to the Bury St. Edmunds and Exeter areas of England, and would refer, in all probability, to a general category of book containing office material, suggests that at least in England, the technical term of collectaria/collectaneum, or its Anglo-Saxon equivalent, did not exist. The lack of standardization in structure and content prevailing in the English books would seem to bear this out.

The single unifying or 'universal' characteristic among the English and continental witnesses consulted, is that they possess a significantly large group of collects which ought to have been recited as the office-collect of the day, i.e. as the formal intercessory conclusion of the office. [4] These texts fall somewhere between three stages of development. The 'pure collectar' represents theoretically a book of collects for the offices which depends heavily on its sacramentary model(s) for order and provisions, but does not encroach on the internal prayers of the mass-set (e.g. the secret or post-communion). The collectar at this stage closely resembles E. Adda's 'collectar' which, he argues, was an extraction of those sacramentary prayers not in regular use for the mass: hence an excarpsus per l'ufficio corale.' [5] His collectar would be restricted, theoretically, to the aliae orationes which had accrued to the mass

set, and could not include the collecta or super populum. This limited understanding of the collectar has not received much support from the early witnesses, as will become evident in the following analysis. The 'primitive collectar' introduces the chapter readings, or 'capitula', which are small extracts from the Bible (an abbreviated 'pericope'), in an effort perhaps to combine efficiently the two reading texts which it is the responsibility of the hebdomadary to read. The 'office collectar' approaches the comprehensiveness of the breviary and is notable for the introduction of choral material and for ordering these formulae according to the performance in the office. At this stage, the final stage before succumbing to the more efficient format of the breviary, the collectar bears little resemblance to the sacramentary, its original parent in the eighth and ninth centuries. These categories should be kept in mind during the following analysis. This will involve a brief study of the more significant compositional elements in all of the English collectar texts and in a selection of the continental ones from the ninth until the twelfth century. The results should contribute towards an understanding of the place of the collectar text in Durham Cathedral Library, A.IV.19 within this relatively little-known genre of liturgical book.

The nucleus of the DCL, A.IV.19, misnamed the 'Durham Ritual', is a collection of 210 capitula and 370 collects (five of which are incomplete) occupying the first forty-five of the surviving sixty-one folios of the original book. The last sixteen folios (of the original book) are devoted predominantly to a number of benedictions, as well as to prayers and exorcisms for the ordeal of boiling water and hot

iron, and includes two masses for the blessing of a nun, all of which formulae commonly occur in tenth-century ritual books.

It is commonly acknowledged that to this original portion (ff. 1-61r) scribes from the Chester-le-Street community, including Provost Aldred, famous glossator of the Lindisfarne community some ten years previous, added material which expanded the manuscript to eighty-eight folios. On account of the fortunate addition of Aldred's colophon, this second campaign has been given a terminus post quem of c.970, some fifty years after the original corpus was written by an unknown scribe from the south of England.

This 'new' material presents a bewildering array of liturgical formulae which were intended for the office: collects for the canonical hours; hymns for the same and also for Passiontide and Easter; antiphons, versicles, responds for the winter and for the Advent Sunday lectionary; memoriae or commemorations for the Holy Cross, the sanctoral feasts and for the dead;[6] a series of mass-sets for the Holy Trinity and for a selection of the Commons; suffrages (Gallican and Celtic) for the canonical hours; incipits of the penitential psalms; special psalms for the canonical hours; and the four famous collects for St. Cuthbert. In addition, eighteen formulae (prayers and benedictions) are randomly included among the office material to be recited in special rituals.

Although little enough evidence survives, the additional material was compiled in such a way as to discourage the oft-quoted assumption that it saw active use in the Chester-le-Street liturgy, and its early relegation to a book for glossing would seem to bear this out.[7] Wormald admits that bits and pieces are found elsewhere but not precisely in this combination and in this selection.[8] It is arguable that the anthology saw limited use as an antiquated reference manual rather than as a bona-fide choir book. Hence, since a proportionally small number of 'ritual' formulae survive in the manuscript and since it was not physically used as ritual books would normally have been used, it is no longer tenable to apply the name 'Durham Ritual' to the A.IV.19.

This analysis shows the extent to which extraneous material so readily accrued to what was originally a manuscript largely devoted to a 'pure collectar' text. Moreover, the sixteen folios which contain the various benedictions, etc. in the original part, were written by the same 'Scribe O' in a continuous writing campaign, indicating that the scribe had not originally planned to compile a manuscript which contained only the 'pure collectar' text. That the benedictions start in the bottom half of f.45r suggests that the two sections were seen as integral parts of the same original manuscript. Hence the A.IV.19 cannot be a 'pure collectar' text. The term, 'Durham Collectar', must be taken to mean a specific reference to ff. 1-45r21. The complete A.IV.19 manuscript can only precisely be described as the 'Durham collectar-benedictional-ritual-hymnal'!

The 'Durham Collectar' [=DC] differs from the Leofric Collectar and the collectar text in the Wulfstan Portiforium in that it contains only chapters and collects, in alternating groups, of which the former always precedes the latter, although the collects by far outnumber the chapters. To these are appended benedictions, which neither the Leofric nor the Portiforium has included. No rubrics guide the officiant's use of the DC for a specific hour; although the feast day is indicated, the office is not, nor is there a standard number of formulae per feast, varying from one to eight collects. Hence the selection was left up to the preference or to the memory of the officiant. Perhaps some sort of collect-chapter comes originally co-existed with the manuscript. In any case, these observations indicate that the Durham Collectar is more primitive than the later two English collectars in regards to content and its structure.

The Leofric Collectar supplies full texts for the capitula and collects of the offices, and in addition provides the incipits of antiphons, versicles, responds and hymns in the order in which they are recited in relation to the chapters and collects. The Leofric book devotes its last thirty-eight folios (ff.218r-251r) to texts of some of the hymns referred to in the collectar by incipits, and to texts of sequences (ff.251v-256v).[9] It is a collection of hymns which Gneuss, in an earlier study of the early development of the English hymnal, claims to be the oldest complete hymnal for a secular community in England.[10]



The collection of hymns immediately follows the last full pages containing the chapters and collects (f.217v), and is written in the same hand. These details give very little indication, therefore, that the 'hymnal' was added as an afterthought. It appears to have been deliberately attached to the collectar portion of the manuscript, and the question here should be, why was the 'collectar' material of this Leofric manuscript combined with a hymnal? It would be more accurate for liturgical scholars to call BL. Harley Ms.2961 the 'Leofric Collectar-and-Hymnal', particularly as the hymnal has an important liturgical significance in its own right.

The collectar portion in the so-called 'Wulfstan Portiforium', CCCC Ms. 391, written c.1065 for the Bishop of Worcester (1062-1095) by no means dominates the book, taking up only 265 of its 724 pages. But proportionally, it is the largest section, a compact and quite separate major book preceded by five other little sections: a calendar with computus material (pp.1-23; a picture of King David is on p.24); a Gallican psalter (pp.25-201); psalm 151 with canticles and a litany (pp.202-226); a hymnal (pp.227-278); and a set of monastic canticles (pp.279-294). Three other sections follow the collectar text which ends on p.560: a collection of private prayers and exorcisms, etc. (pp.560-620); full offices in 'breviary form' for the Commune Sanctorum, Dom. post oct. pent. (vespers and nocturns only), commemorations for de sancte cruce and de sancta maria, and the office of the dead (pp.621-712); and, finally, a few pages devoted to Old English prophecies (pp.713-724)

The monastic canticles, together with the second Commune Sanctorum which includes the lessons for Nocturns (also included in the Dom post oct. Pent), and the hymnal are monastic texts. Each begin on a new recto page and they are all written in the same hand.[11] This suggests that the scribe deliberately chose these texts to make the book conform with the observances of the monastic community to which the Portiforium had now been transferred. The other texts, including the 'collectar', were necessary to complete the performance of the divine office. The advantages of having several office texts close at hand for easy reference far outweighed the traditional practice of dividing them into completely separate books.

To call the full text of Ms. 391 'the Wulfstan Collectar' is obviously wrong; one would have to speak more precisely of the 'collectar text' existing in the Wulfstan Portiforium. The collectar itself has been deliberately attached to several other kinds of office material. The relationship between these texts and the collectar must now be considered, since the term 'collectar' is inapplicable to the manuscript as a whole for historical and liturgical purposes.

One must consider whether this new type of liturgical book, aptly termed a 'portiforium', since it 'carried'[12] all that was needed for the monk to perform the offices when he travelled away from his community, affected the structure and contents of the 'collectar material' on pp.295-560. Aside from the physical re-allocation of the minor feast days to a second, separate sanctoral which seems to have no direct relation to the other contents of the manuscript, the answer



is categorically 'no'. Admittedly, a greater number of repeated collects and chapters are referred to as ut supra, particularly in the second sanctoral, but this should be seen as evidence for a general development within the collectar corpus itself. Otherwise, the components and order of pp.295-560 are very similar to the collectar text in the Leofric book. No marginal notes guide the officiant to other pages or sections of the manuscript. The breviary form, if it represented one, still remained very primitive.

Titus D.xxvi and xxvii [-Hy], originally a single manuscript now bound in two separately foliated manuscripts -- the order of which should perhaps be reversed -- present a highly complex codicological history. Few historians of the Anglo-Saxon liturgy have attempted to inquire into the reasons why Abbot Aelfwine of New Minster compiled these particular pieces in this format. The breadth of related and unrelated subjects is similar to the additional material in the A.IV.19, ff.61r-88v. Hence, the significance of the collectar material which Gneuss has correctly restricted to ff.20r-50v (inserted originally between prophecies from the Book of Daniel, finishing at f.16v, and the Litany, beginning on f.51r), has not been studied fully within the wider context of the Anglo-Saxon collectars.[13]

Beyond any doubt, ff.20-50v represent material abstracted from an older collectar(s). It includes an abbreviated version of the Commune Sanctorum: sections for apostle(s), martyr(s), confessor(s), and virgin(s), are each provided with a group of chapters, followed by collects, which out-number the chapters. The remaining smaller

divisions all relate to collectar-texts: a series of twenty-nine chapters for cotidianis diebus (ff.30r-33r) precedes one collect each for the twenty-three Sundays after Pentecost (ff. 33r-37r), one collect each for the five Sundays in Advent (ff.37r-37v), thirty-four collects for cotidianis pro peccatis (ff.38r-42v), fifteen collects for Lauds (matutinales, ff.42v-44v) and eight collects for Vespers (ff.44v-45v). The last two items, a standard triad of collects for the ordinary offices of Terce-Sext-None, and a series of Gallican Capitella, are not strictly speaking collectar items, but the collectars from the tenth century onwards frequently include them.[15] The final thirty folios of Titus D.xxvi contain a litany (ff.51r-56v), collects for special saints (the largest part of this section, including prayers to St.Nicolas, ff.56v-79v),[16] and the beginning of St. John's Gospel (f.80r).

Ker's observations that a single hand wrote the items from ff.20-68, implies that the scribe did not stop at f.50v at the end of the Capitella, at which point Gneuss has suggested that the collectar material ends.[17] The scribe continued to copy the Litany and at least half of the miscellaneous collects for the sanctoral. On the basis of paleographic evidence, it is no longer possible to maintain the modern view that the scribe, or Aelfwine, had in mind to reproduce a specific 'collectar' book ending at f.50v.

Moreover, the text itself does not represent a comprehensive 'collectar' in the same way as the other Anglo-Saxon witnesses. The items were deliberately selected to bring together or to combine the

most necessary liturgical formulae for the variable seasons and feasts of the office throughout the year. Its occurrence here, in a liturgical 'commonplace' book of pocket-sized dimensions compiled personally for Abbot Aelfwine brings to light a new concept or application of the 'collectar'. One could well believe that Aelfwine had those parts of the collectar extracted, which experience had taught him were most needed whenever books were lacking in his outlying charges. Hence the 'collectar' was used in Anglo-Saxon England more like a work-book manual than a bona-fide liturgical book such as its corollary for the Mass, the sacramentary.

The examples of the four English manuscripts indicate that, in England in the post-Alfredian era, a collection of chapters and collects never stood on its own. It was combined with other liturgical pieces, especially pieces used in the same liturgical setting. No wonder, then, that modern liturgists have no clear idea of the collectar in England and its development and relationship with those on the Continent. A better understanding of this book and the lack of it in England depends upon, first, a look at the constituents common to these four Anglo-saxon witnesses and, secondly, an assessment of any developments which may have affected them before moving on to the continental collectars. The results are startling and show that that these collections were undergoing substantial changes.

In the collectar portion of the Durham manuscript, the earliest witness, the presentation is very simple and somewhat primitive. Its inclusion of chapters and collects only, the predominance of the collects, and the lack of any comprehensive rubrics is very similar to the arrangement of the Titus manuscript. These two manuscripts differ from the Leofric Collectar and the collectar text in the Portiforium, where more attention has been given to a 'fleshing out' of the offices.

The three 'full' collectar texts (i.e., not Hy), separate the feast days into the Temporale and the Sanctorale in accordance with English practice with one variation and one exception.[18] The Leofric Collectar has an odd mixture of temporal and sanctoral feasts. A set of sanctoral feasts (Stephen, John the Evangelist, Holy Innocents) follows the temporal feasts of Advent and Nativity; a second set of sanctoral for the marial feasts of the Purification and Annunciation follow the temporal from the Nativity Octave to Epiphany; a long series of the temporal from Dom post Epiphaniae to Holy Trinity Sunday follows; then a third sanctoral set of the major feasts from John the Baptist to St. Andrew; finally the last temporal series occurs of the remaining Sundays post oct. Pent., followed by the Commune Sanctorum.

This unusual variation on the English theme of a separate temporal and sanctoral is particularly important in that none of the other English collectars follow it. The DC is separated into a temporal and sanctoral section with one important exception. The Purification of the BVM on iv nones Feb (2 Feb, DC 16-25) occurs

inexplicably in the temporal section following the collects for Epiphany (DC 1-15); although textually misplaced, it has preserved the chronological order. This could possibly be the result of a careless scribe, and certainly the abundant errors in the rubrics, particularly in the sanctoral feasts, suggest that the collection on the whole was not given a final correction. But the misplacement of the Purification also occurs in the Leofric Missal, in that part of the manuscript brought c.900 to Glastonbury. This presents a first clue to possible shared source material which must be examined later on.

This examination of the structural elements in the English collectars shows that the constituents of the book were affected by change and that they underwent important developments. But as all of them offer individual variations on the idea of the 'pure collectar', the definition of the book has never fully emerged. Amidst the Durham collectar-benedictional-ritual-hymnal, Aelfwine's 'commonplace book', the Leofric collectar-hymnal, and the Wulfstan Portiforium, the pure definition of the 'collectar book' does not exist. Thus, a liturgical historian cannot look to tenth-century England for evidence to substantiate his definition.

Such examples do survive on the Continent from the second half of the eighth and the early part of the ninth century.

The earliest witness, St. Gallen Ms.349 [=FrS], written mid-eighth century at St.Gall, is the perfect example of the 'pure collectar' text, or at least this is what the fragment of thirty-four pages presents to today's liturgist.[19] It is so closely related to the slightly later Gelasian sacramentary St.Gall Ms.348 as to suggest that the scribe of the collectar had before him the exemplar of St.Gall 348 and had compiled his office book by the simple technique of extracting all the prayers that had accrued to the mass-set, but were not intrinsically a part of them. It omits both the post communionem and the collecta of the mass in an effort to conform to this scheme. The aliae orationes paschalis [FrS 21-49::GeS 638-664] form an integral part of the 'new' collection, in addition to stational prayers of the Greater Litany [FrS 53-57::GeS 714-718]. But the mass-set occurring at the end of the Litany is scrupulously omitted, and FrS retains only the alia oratio in atrio [FrS 58::GeS 722].

Only one effort was possibly made to design this selection, or collectar excarpus,[20] into a new type of office book. In the feasts which follow Paschal-tide, the Annunciation of the BVM, the feasts of the Ascension and Pentecost, and the feasts of St.John the Baptist and of Peter and Paul are designated to the specific office hours of ad matutinos siue ad uespertinales in lieu of the general aliae orationes as found in the St.Gall 348 sacramentary.[21] It is an unconvincing attempt to turn the excarpus into a liturgical book. At the same time, it is a significant though small piece of evidence to mark the point where the scribe had deliberately made the effort to distinguish his new compilation from its sacramentary source. He



intended to use the 'new book' in a different way.

A second continental witness, Karlsruhe Landesbibliothek, Augiense Frgm.22 [=FrR], written about 800 or very soon thereafter, closely adheres to its sacramentary source, although its acclaimed pre-Hadrianum or Paduan exemplar may not be so conclusive as Père Gy or Gamber have assumed.[22] A carefully restored fragment of forty-six badly tattered folios, the collection consists of collects on the first thirty-eight folios beginning from the Purification of the BVM and running through the liturgical year, not without a few lacunae, until the Nativity of St. Lucy on the Ides of December. A fragmentary Commune Sanctorum occurs directly after, ending with a set of three collects for the Dedication of a Church (FrR 190-192) and a set of two collects for the Anniversary of a Basilica Dedication (FrR 193-194) on ff.33v - 34r. The 'pure collectar' ends with a series of prayers extracted from its Gregorian sacramentary source: in agenda mortuorum (FrR 195-197::GrH 1015-1017), orationes cotidianae (FrR 198-211::GrH 900-923), matutinales (FrR 212-214::GrH 940-942), and vespertinales seu matutinales (FrR 215-239::GrH 943-979), ending on f.39r.

The last seven and a half folios contain prayers and benedictions for various occasions which do not follow any one particular surviving sacramentary source. A certain flexibility is noticeable at this point; its scribes are beginning to make the new book conform to the needs of their community. By contrast, the previous thirty-eight and a half folios have been primarily limited to the aliae orationes of

the mass-sets. They have included also the three processional prayers for the blessing of the font during Holy Week, in addition to the super populum (whenever it had been preserved) and one other important prayer, the collecta. The unprecedented inclusion here of the collecta, a traditional prayer of the mass, is a substantial development from its deliberate exclusion in St. Gallen 349. The scope of the collectar was expanding. The fact that the 'new book' was beginning to overlap its parent (i.e., the sacramentary), weakens Adda's argument that the collectar 'excarpsus' extracted only the non-mass or office prayers. The Karlsruhe manuscript demonstrates otherwise. It is no longer tenable to call the collectar an excarpus when particular adaptations, exclusions and borrowings were being introduced. These suggest that a specific book was required in the offices whose function was to incapsulate the mass formulae of the day and repeat it in the offices. This linked mass to office in a powerful way. Further, at Reichenau the book developed a personalized quality for that particular monastic community as a result of ninth and tenth century additions. Although 'extracted' from a sacramentary, these formulae were selected with a view to rendering the 'pure collectar' text more serviceable than any single sacramentary could have been.

Merely from the developments made in the Karlsruhe manuscript, it is arguable that the 'pure collectar' text, while beginning to accrue other material in addition to the non-mass prayers evident in St. Gallen 349, was increasing in importance as a liturgical book within the Roman liturgy by the beginning of the ninth century.



The relatively little, and perhaps only local, progress made in the collector of the Roman liturgy must be seen in the wider context of the Visigothic liturgy. The earliest text containing prayers for the offices dating to the early eighth century (sometime before 732) is tentatively attributed to Tarragona, Verona, Bibl. Capit. Ms. LXXXIX (84) [=OV] presents a greater sophistication in form and structure. But as it is commonly acknowledged that the Visigothic liturgy and its books represent an entirely different tradition, further study will not be made here aside from a few relevant, though necessarily preliminary, remarks. This early eighth century Verona office-book, called the 'Oracional Visigotica', or 'Libellus Orationum', or 'Orationale Mozarabicum'[23] -- the term collectaneum was not in use in the Mozarabic-Visigothic liturgy -- organizes its elaborate prayer sequence for Matins (i.e., our 'Lauds') and Vespers with an unprecedented clarity. For instance, on the feast day of the Spanish bishop St. Fructuosus and his two deacons Augurius and Eulogius, the completoria, (OV 446) and benedictio (OV 447), each of which correspond to the Roman collect and super populum, respectively, are designated to first Vespers.[24] Matins follows with four sets of four orationes each and concludes with a final set of three (OV 448-466). These are paired with their antiphona and responsori (or alleluias) whose incipits are given directly before the corresponding oratio. The appropriate completoria (OV 467) and benedictio ad matutinum (OV 468) complete that morning's office.[25]

With the exception of these choral incipits, the manuscript contains only prayers for Matins and Vespers throughout the year, excluding the hymn and psalmody. Its late ninth-century copy from Silos, BL. Add. Ms. 30852, has not even retained the choral incipits within the text, though its users found it necessary subsequently to add them into the margins.

Prayers for the minor hours of Prime, Terce, Sext and None occur during the important weeks of Lent, Passion-week and Holy-week. But the lectiones, which in the Visigothic rite are restricted to these hours, do not form a part of the provisions.[26] The title of the Lenten section makes this particularly clear: 'Incipiunt orationes de responsoriis sive ad antifonis psalmogratis de traditione que decantantur cotidie ..' (OV 551). Nor do the lectiones occur in the special provisions for Good Friday or Holy Saturday where, again, the rubrics make this distinction between 'collectar' and 'lectionary' explicit: 'Incipiunt orationes que per singulas lectiones ...' (OV 845).

The chronology of the liturgical provisions resembles the peculiar organization in the Lf. Two distinct sets of sanctoral feasts divide the book's arrangement into the three great liturgical cycles: the Advent-Epiphany saints (OV 36-251) occur after Advent, and the post-Pentecostal saints (OV 1052-1201) occur after Easter. Aside from the OV's exclusion of the chapter readings, this Visigothic collectar foreshadows at this early date many of the structural complexities of such later books as the Lf and Wp.

Hence, in spite of the obvious differences in the structure and constituents of the morning and evening offices between the Roman and Visigothic rites, each have formulated a book to meet a similar need for reciting office prayers. The fact that the Spanish solution was accomplished as early as the beginning of the eighth century and professes to be a book in its own right, places the early efforts of the Western rite in a pitiful plight, since the earliest examples such as St.Gall 349 [=FrS] and Augiense 22 [=FrR] are so much less concise than that of the Visigothic nearly a century earlier. In defense of the Western position, however, it may be argued that the Western rite had other intentions for its late eighth/early ninth-century 'pure collectar' text.

The evidence from the surviving collectars which post-date the St.Gallen and Karlsruhe manuscripts in the Western Latin liturgy indicate in fact that the 'pure collectar' book was quickly amalgamated with other relevant office material, and in the process, the book lost its structural relationship with its sacramentary source. Simultaneous with the emergence of an independent office book, the manuscripts began however to lose their 'collectar' characteristics. It becomes increasingly difficult to justify the description of many ninth-century texts as 'collectars', a situation that was similar to the state of affairs with the tenth and eleventh century Anglo-Saxon collectars. The three notable ninth century examples from the continent are the Verona, Bibl. capit. Ms. CVI (99) [=OP], the Vienna Ms. Cod. Vindob. ser. n. 2762 [=FrB], and the Trier, Stadtbibliothek Ms. 1245/597 [=FrP], more commonly known as the 'Orazionale Pacifico', the 'Baturich Collectar and Ritual', and

the 'Prüm collectar', respectively.

Much of Adda's argument concerning the date and provenance of Verona CVI [=OP] is highly questionable. His proposed date for the compilation of one of its sources, the earliest Frankish-Gelasian sacramentary,[27] and his assumption that the Hadrianum replaced all mass books -- 'adozione totale definitiva del Gregoriano' -- by c.800, force him to give a dubious terminus post quem of 798-799 for OP's exemplar.[28] Adda has also relied on unsubstantial evidence concerning the possible date when Pacificus could have written the 'Translatio Zenonis' addition in the calendar since he has based his argument on the uncertain date of Zeno's actual translation.[29] Uncertain as these dates appear to be for the Frankish Gelasian and the Translation of St. Zeno, Adda is convinced that Archdeacon Pacificus had received his exemplar from Reichenau and had made his copy in Verona no later than 807. But since Pacificus could have made his entry on f.3v at any time up to his death (d. 844), there is no reason why the book could not have been written very much later.

Furthermore, this proposed connection with Reichenau as regards the exemplar of Verona CVI lacks any real evidence. Based on the absence of any Veronese patronal feast in the collectar, he has assumed that the patronal saint(s) must have been one of the major festivals; and he has all too hastily concluded that since Verona under Bishop Egino had established relations with Reichenau, a community dedicated to Saints Mary and Peter, then the exemplar of Verona CVI must have come from there. His only credible evidence for

this assertion lies in the resemblance between the sanctoral feasts celebrated in the 'Excarpus of Reichenau' (Karlsruhe, Augiense CXII), a late eighth-century sacramentary fragment, and those same feasts celebrated in the corresponding months of OP, very little evidence indeed on which to establish textual relations.[30] By analogy, the DC carries a very large and important collection of prayers for St. Martin's feast day on 11 Nov, in addition to a collect for his Translation on 4 July, and preserves strong textual affinities with sacramentaries from Tours. Yet I would not be prepared to argue that the exemplar of DC came from there, particularly on account of the complicated principles of manuscript transmission. Moreover, OP does not adhere to the structure and content of the text in FrR, which scholars have attributed more convincingly to Reichenau. If Adda's claim for a Reichenau-provenance is to be maintained, the discrepancies between these two early collectar texts must be taken into account.[31]

Despite these misgivings, and overlooking for the moment the unfortunate typographical error in the edition in which the manuscript number CVI has continuously been misprinted in the running title of the edition from pp. 136-187, there is little doubt that at Verona between 807 - 844 (d. Pacificus), a book of office material was in use. Its nucleus consisted of a series of collects which were recited at Matins (Lauds) and Vespers throughout the year. It is the earliest complete text of its kind to have survived. It begins on f.11r with the prayers for the Nativity and covers the major feasts of the year until Advent, f.30r-v. The Common of the Saints follow on ff.31v-36v, and the collectar text of the manuscript concludes with the dedication

of a church and the standard series of prayers commonly found in early sacramentaries, and thereafter in collectars: special occasions (ff.37r-40v), pro peccatis (ff.41r-45v), matutinales (ff.46r-48v), vespertinales (ff.49r-50v), and cottidianis diebus (ff.51r-54r).

The prayers are presented in a simple format of one to six collects, designated to the feast day with no rubrical indication of the offices. The introductory rubric on f.11r defines the purpose of this part of the manuscript (ff.11-54): 'Incipiunt orationes matutinales seu uespertinales anni circuli.' The precision of organization resembles, on a small scale, that of the Visigothic collectar book; but the collection in the Verona manuscript is much abbreviated, covering the entire year, the Common of the Saints and the variae orationes in a little over fifty-four folios with dimensions of 236 x 150 mm. It is not the only liturgical section in the book, although it is by far the longest. The capitella (f.1r), the martyrology (ff.1v-9v) and the Athanasian Creed (ff.9r-10v) precede the 'Orazionale' in Verona CVI, and the benedictions (ff.57r-62v) and litany (f.62v) occur in the sequence of texts following it. These were evidently used in Prime and the little hours. The ritual formulae for the ordo scrutini (ff.54v-56v), and the ordo baptismi (ff.63r-64r) have no part in the offices; but they would certainly have been frequently used in services outside the mass.



The unrelated texts in OP raise the question whether the collectar was an important part of the manuscript. The rubric introducing the collectar indicates that this part of the manuscript was an independent unit. But as all the disparate texts belong to the same manuscript, it could be argued that its owner intended to bring together all of his most frequently used texts into one volume, as a kind of liturgical hand-book. N.P. Rasmussen has already noted that several ordines and litanies were brought together, with corrections, to form a manuscript which is attributed to Pacificus.[32] There seems little evidence to discourage the same interpretation for the Pacificus collectar. The manuscript should be able to provide important information about the duties and responsibilities of the Veronese arch-deacon, who held a leading position in the performance of the daily (Roman) offices, and in the administration of catechism, baptism and ordinations.

It is quite impossible, therefore, to refer to Verona CVI merely as the 'Orazionale' of Pacificus, following its editors. 'Orazionale' must refer specifically to ff.11v-54r, similar to the technical references for the 'Durham Collectar' (=ff.1-45), the 'Leofric Collectar' (=ff.2r-217v) and the 'Wulfstan Collectar' (=pp.295-560). Although Verona CVI, ff.11v-54r is the earliest complete collectar text as its editors have rightly claimed, it is much less of a collectar book than has been assumed. The brevity of OP falls far short, for example, of the enormous coverage given to the feasts in the Karlsruhe fragment from Reichenau.[33]



A second early ninth-century collectar [=FrB], compiled for Baturich, bishop of Regensburg and abbot of St. Emmeram (814-848), combines a benedictional and a pontifical with its collectar. Two-thirds of the manuscript has been recently reconstructed from innumerable shreds of parchment which were used in the fifteenth-century to reinforce the flyleaves of the service-books of Kloster Mondsee; and another third has been compiled from different manuscripts in the Vienna National Library to form Ms. ser. n.2762. The collectar portion takes up only twenty-seven of the seventy-five surviving folios, but it suffers from nineteen missing folios.[34] The benedictional occupies the next fifteen folios, and the pontifical, the last thirty-three folios. The collectar begins with the feast of the Nativity, and offers a mixed Temporal/Sanctoral (with several interruptions) until the Common of Saints, followed by the now standard conclusion of orationes cottidianae, orationes matutinales et uespertinae, and orationes cottidianae.

The Baturich collectar presents collects for Matins and Vespers. Still without rubrics, the collects are allocated in groups to specific feasts. But perhaps its most distinguishing characteristic is that the prayers from the nucleus of the mass-set itself, i.e., the secreta and post communionem, are creeping into the prayers for the offices for the first time. This is an important advance over the FrS, which was rigorously restricted to the aliae orationes. FrB introduces a new range of prayers which even OP and FrR do not include, limited as they are to the collecta and aliae orationes of the mass.[35]

The combination of a collectar-benedictional with a pontifical is a very rare arrangement, but one which is not unprecedented in the liturgical manuscripts of the first half of the ninth century.[36] It is far from certain that the two portions were written originally as a single book. N.K. Rasmussen has noted that the last folio of the eighth quire (f.42v), which marks the end of the benedictions, was originally blank, and there are no signs of paleographical continuity between quires eight and nine.[37] These observations pose some serious codicological challenges to the editors' position. There is not no evidence either for a continuity in text between quires eight and nine exist. Quire nine begins with the Canon Missae which is not frequently encountered in this sort of collection.[38]

Of the texts in the preceding quires, the collectar breaks off abruptly in the middle of the aliae orationes cottidianae at the end of f.27v. On f.28v, the beginning of quire seven, the benedictions have already begun with what appears to be the end of the Commune Sanctorum: in natali unius confessoris, benedictiones cottidianae, aliae benedictiones, de sancta cruce and ad soluendas benedictiones. This is followed by the benedictions for the major feasts of the year from Advent until Easter, breaking off in mid-prayer at the end of f.34v. On f.35r, the beginning of quire eight, the office for the dead has already begun and continues until f.40v. Mid-way down the page begins the [Ordo] ad XII lectiones agendas followed by prayers, including the great prayer before the candle of the Purification, until the end of f.42v. At the top of f.43r, the start of quire nine, the initial portion of the Canon of the Mass begins.

Breaks between old texts and the beginnings of new texts coincide with the start of quires seven, eight, and nine. These quire divisions have separated folios 1-42 of the manuscript into a collectar, a benedictional, an Ordo for the dead, and a Canon of the Mass. It is conceivable that these texts existed independently for some time, as libelli. But at an early date, Bishop Baturich, or some other competent ecclesiastic, had them bound together for a specific purpose. It has been argued that the unique ecclesiastical situation at Regensburg, where the bishop of the 'Kathedralkirche' of St. Peter's presided simultaneously as abbot over the 'Klosterkirche' of St. Emmeram in the early years of the ninth century, made this type of combination essential.[39]

The 'benedictional' portion of FrB offers an average of nine benedictions for each of the major feasts, an indication that it was used for a bishop and his clerical community. It also contains other obviously secular rites, among them the standard formulae for 'ad clericum faciendum' (FrB 453-457) and the 'ordo qualiter in romana ecclesia presbiteri, diaconi uel subdiaconi eligendi sunt' (FrB 462-476). In addition there are some rare formulae which were a special prerogative of the bishop: 'benedictio uestimentorum uirginum uel uiduarum' (FrB 498), 'consecratio uirginis' (FrB 498a-501), and 'benedictio uiduae' (FrB 502).[40]

Other parts of the manuscript retain formulae which indicate that it also served the monastic community of St. Emmeram. Following the Commune Sanctorum, the 'collectar' contains four prayers in a special

votive office dedicated to St. Emmeram (FrB 114-117), one of which is a deliberate adaptation of a Fulda collect for St. Boniface (FrB 115::F 1028).[41] The 'Libera nos' (FrB 416) in the Canon mentions St. Emmeram. From the paleographical evidence, Bischoff has argued that the script remains well within the period of scribal reforms carried out under Bishop Baturich at St. Emmeram.[42]

It is possible that the book was used to serve two communities which shared the same buildings in Regensburg. If this was the case, the owner of the book would have required a single service-book to celebrate the different liturgies observed in each community. The situation of a clerical and monastic community living under the same roof is not unknown. Both Freising and Salzburg had communities which were arranged in this way for a limited time; but no service-books survive to illustrate it as vividly as the Baturich book. Despite the fact that a 'Kathedralkirche' of St. Peter's existed at Regensburg, founded in the reign of Bishop Suitbert (c.768-91), there is some suspicion that either it was not inhabitable or that the community preferred to continue living in the old quarters for a time before moving into the new cathedral which they were eventually to do.[43]

In light of these conclusions, the benedictions on f.28r should not be interpreted as a natural continuation of the collectar. They were deliberately attached to the collectar for a particular reason. It is unlikely, given the examples of the other early collectars previously examined, that the collectar section of the manuscript was compiled originally to be used as an 'independent' book. If it did,

it did not easily survive in an independent form for very long.

On the question of textual sources, the compiler of FrB has included many non-standard items among its predominantly Hadrianum prayers. Both of these attributes set FrB apart from such early collectars as FrS and OP whose dominant source is the eighth-century Gelasian. The majority of the benedictions are untraceable. Some of the collects in FrB are taken from the 'Old Gelasian'. Even the standard Hadrianum prayers are often re-arranged in an unorthodox manner. In the weeks preceding Lent FrB offers two Gregorian collects from Advent, one from the sanctoral festival of the Quattuor Coronati, and a fourth from Pentecost.[44] The extraordinarily flexible way in which the prayers from the Gregorian and Gelasian traditions have been implemented, suggests that the man responsible for its compilation was a highly competent liturgist. It is arguable that a man of Bishop Baturich's reputation could have ordered the compilation of the different sections of the book; and then at a slightly later date, he could have combined them into the one service-book as we now have it. This reconstruction is very similar to the sort of treatment that is known to have affected the sacramentary libellus, and implies that an important corollary exists between the early development of the collectar and that of the sacramentary.

The collectar text preserved in Trier, Stadtbibliothek Ms. 1245/597 occupies only ff.129v-138v [=FrP]. It is an independent quire attached early on to quires which contained other related liturgical texts. Although its editor has compared it to Stephen of

Liège's description of his Liber capitularis (early tenth century), whose combination of chapters and collects with choral material will be discussed at greater length below, FrP is much less sophisticated. Certainly FrP's text did not originally include the choral material, which is found elsewhere in this manuscript.[45]

The original part of the collectar begins on f.131, the beginning of the seventeenth and last quire of the manuscript. The first entry is a collect with the rubric post euangelium, followed by those for Matins and Vespers on the feast day of St. John the Evangelist. The text of FrP continues without interruption until the collect of first Vespers on the feast day of St. Mauritius and his companions, when the manuscript ends incompletely at the bottom of f.138v.

The puzzling use of the post euangelium rubric warrants some attention as it occurs four times in FrP. A. Dold has traced the meaning of this rubric to a pseudo-Alcuin text 'Liber de diuinis officiis'. It would seem, in an invocation of an ancient tradition, referring back to the Greek rites, that the priest could choose to recite an extra collect after the gospel in the preliminary devotions to Matins.[46] But this solution is unsatisfactory in that it fails to explain its occurrence only four times in FrP. The evidence suggests that the otherwise rare oratio post euangelium was implemented on feast days of double-occurrence (i.e., in this case, a major feast which immediately followed another major feast). For instance, on the major feast of Holy Innocents, it was not possible to recite the first vesper collect, as the feast on the day before, St. John the



Evangelist, was also a major feast which required a collect for second Vespers (FrP 11). In this case, the office of first Vespers for Holy Innocents was 'delayed' until the preliminary readings for Matins, when the oratio post euangelium (FrP 12) was read. The FrP provides a post euangelium for St. John the Evangelist (FrP 9) as it is preceded by St. Stephen; for Holy Innocents (as explained above); and for St. Paul (FrP 41) as it is preceded by St. Peter. Only the post euangelium for the Purification (FrP 19) remains slightly odd in that no major feast precedes it. But since both the Purification and the Annunciation feasts have an unusual abundance of collects, this special collect may have been invoked to increase its provisions.[47] Most of these post euangelium prayers recur among the three English collectars. DC, Lf and Wp assign the one for St. John to the same feast, occurring in the latter two for first Vespers. All assign the one for Holy Innocents to the same feast, the latter two for Matins. All assign the post euangelium for St. Paul to the same feast, the latter two for first Vespers once again.[48] Only the post euangelium for the Purification remains untraceable.[49]

Among the eighty collects in the collectar portion of the Prüm manuscript are three chapters which precede a group of three collects for St. Lawrence. The chapters occur in Lf and Wp for first Vespers, Matins and Terce, respectively; but curiously, they are not assigned rubrics of any sort in FrP other than a general capitula de sco. laurentio. [50] One possible solution is that they were inserted into the collectar-portion of the manuscript once it was discovered that they had been omitted from the liturgical book, or section of it, which contained the chapter readings for the offices.[51]



Preceding the seventeenth quire are seven quires (quires 10-16) written, contrary to H. Gneuss's assumption, in a mid-ninth century hand.[52] These seven quires are largely devoted to two collections of choral material. The first is a collection of hymns, ff.75r-87v, textually described as a representative of the 'New Hymnary'.[53] They are designated to specific hours for each feast day in the Temporal and Sanctoral, in the Common of Saints, and in the dominici diebus. The second is a collection of incipits of antiphons, responds and versicles, ff.107r-129r, which are assigned to the feast days (specific hours are not included here). The little antiphonary is preceded by a full provision of choral material for the offices of the Annunciation of the BVM, ff.106r-106v. But as this occurs on the last folio of the preceding quire and is much more sophisticated in structure, it is likely to have been added later to the manuscript after the hymns and the antiphons were bound together.

The first nine quires of the manuscript contain a miscellany of reading material written by several hands. The oldest of these, the Martyrology of Jerome, (turn of the eighth century) on ff.36v-51v, along with a ninth-century copy of the Regula, ff.1v-36v, would have been recited at the Chapter meeting after Prime.[54] The rest of the material, consisting of two homilies of Basilus (ff.52-69) and one from Gregory (ff.99-106r), plus the two homilies of Cassian and Gregory from quire thirteen (which separate the 'hymnal' from the 'choirbook'), would have been read by the deacon for the lections preceding Compline.[55]

The original lay-out of the Trier (Prüm) manuscript, then, did not entertain the idea of an independent collectar complete with choral incipits, certainly not in the integrated way that Stephen's preface describes. The 'sophisticated' structure, which Siffrin had assumed, was in fact a result of combining the late ninth-century collectar with a somewhat earlier hymnal and choirbook at a later date. Even this reconstruction is suspect; there is little evidence that the collectar was added to the hymnal and choirbook with the intention to 'compose' a comprehensive service-book. Its severely incomplete nature and the omission of the chapters, presumably lost well before the combination, discounts any idea that the hebdomadary found it very useful. It is likely that it had circulated for a limited time, like the hymnal and choirbook, as an independent libellus. But its preservation in the Trier manuscript as an incomplete appendix to a service-book clearly intended for the offices of a Benedictine community renders its real function questionable.

The reason for its survival at all may depend on its contents, which include several unique formulae and three local feast days. Eleven of the formulae are untraceable: the collect for Matins on Holy Innocents (FrP 13); second Vespers on the feast of Sts. Fabian and Sebastian (FrP 17); the post euangelium on the Purification (FrP 19); Matins on the feast of Sts. Phillip and Jacob (FrP 28); Matins for Sts. John and Paul (FrP 37); Matins for Sts. Processus and Martinianus (FrP 45); Matins for St. Jacob (FrP 52); Matins for the Passion of St. John the Baptist (FrP 63), wrongly attributed here to his nativity, which the scribe had inserted into the margin before Bartholomew;[56] the collects for first Vespers and Matins of St.

Bartholomew (FrP 65,66); and the collect for second Vespers on the Nativity of the BVM (FrP 70). Special feasts are attributed to the local saints: St. Goar (FrP 48-50), patron saint of Prüm Abbey; St. Lambert (FrP 75-76), patron saint of the Maastricht region; and St. Mauritius (FrP 80).

It is very rare indeed to find in a fragment this extraordinary treasure of rare prayers and feasts which can be specifically identified to a particular locality unless the compiler intended to preserve them. It is very possible that these special texts induced the compiler of the Trier manuscript to add this quire in an effort to save his favorite texts. Hence, the collectar may not have been preserved because it represented a collectar text, but because it contained notable prayers -- a result of someone 'tidying up' the books in the Prüm sacristy. The travels of the manuscript from Prüm to Trier, where it remains to this day, may provide an historical motive for this reconstruction.

In 899, the famous Abbot Regino of Prüm was given the abbey of St. Martin in Trier by the Archbishop Radbod of Trier.[57] Under his orderly auspices, he may have had the little pamphlets which had existed independently in the Prüm sacristy combined in order to make the transport of books more efficient.[58] Once established in Trier, the Prüm books continued to be used, as added material demonstrate. For example, the originally empty pages of ff.129v-130v which had concluded the choirbook (i.e., the last three pages of the sixteenth quire), and f.131r-v, the first folio of the collectar book, were

eventually filled with formulae for in dedicatione templi and in dedicatione aeccliesiae written by a hand very similar to the scribe of the collectar. This paleographical evidence, combined with the fact, which Siffrin's edition omits, that this additional material contains capitula together with their collects, attribute them to a later date. The second collect for Matins in the dedicatio aeccliesiae provisions runs continuously from the bottom of f.130v to the top few lines of f.131r. This indicates that this prayer could only have been added once the hymnal and choirbook had been bound to the collectar. Further, the in dedicatione templi collect for Vespers has been inelegantly squeezed into the bottom margin of f.129v and written continuously across the page onto the bottom margin of f.130r. This prayer was also not part of the original collectar, but was added to meet certain needs which may have arisen from dedicating new churches in Trier. Siffrin suggests that the dedicatione aeccliesiae was added for the re-dedication of St. Martin's after the ravages of the Norman invasions during Regino's abbacy there.[59]

The formulae of the in dedicatione templi, some of which are not published by Siffrin, are notable for their sophisticated structure. This would place them even later than the dedicatione aeccliesiae additions. Aside from the collect for second Vespers printed by Siffrin,[60] it contains chapters for first Vespers, Matins, Terce, Sext, None and second Vespers; and choral incipits accompany the chapters for the last four offices. This arrangement is far more advanced than any of the texts from the continental collectars discussed previously. The suggestion offered by Siffrin that it was added to dedicate the rebuilding of Regino's burial place, St.

Maximin in Trier, which had fallen victim once again to the Norman destructions, is confirmed by the liturgical evidence.[61]

Stephen of Liège's description of his 'Liber capitularis' in his preface to Bishop Robert of Metz, which is the only part of the work to have survived, has many elements resembling the in dedicatione templi addition in FrP. Written c.903-916, the author deliberately intended to compose a service-book in which the chapters, choral material, and collects -- normally disparate elements from many office books -- were brought together into a single book and organized according to the order of service.[62] It is not clear whether Stephen was the originator of this 'office-collectar' book. Certainly the similarity in form between the FrP addition and Stephen's book, both ascribed to the early tenth century, and the geographical proximity between Metz and Trier, indicate that a general movement towards the composition of the 'office-collectar' was beginning in Lotharingia in the early part of the tenth century.[63] But the claim that Stephen's 'Liber capitularis' was the archetype for the tenth- and eleventh-century collectars in England is certainly premature and at best controversial.[64]

Stephen is claimed to have been a renowned composer of liturgical material. The Holy Trinity offices have been attributed to him, and so, more tentatively, have the offices of St. Cuthbert.[65] In the preface to his 'Liber capitularis', he has asked Bishop Robert of Metz for his permission to circulate the book in the diocese.[66] That the book did in fact achieve some measure of popularity is attested by

four chroniclers from the tenth to the fifteenth centuries; but by the fifteenth century, its circulation was somewhat restricted to particular localities.[67]

To classify Stephen's book as a 'collectar' without further discussion is dubious nonetheless. The central constituent of the book is obvious from the title, 'Liber capitularis'. Around each of the little chapters -- his primary concern -- he has 'woven' the appropriate respond, verse and collect for each hour of the day: 'Ergo prout ualui, per singulos horarum cursus, singula capitula cum responsoriis uel uersibus siue eciam collectis statui.'[68] Its organization was highly complex. The feast days were ordered according to their hierarchical importance. A group of the most important saints occurred first: Holy Trinity, two feast of the Cross, the four marial feasts, the archangel Michael, the two feasts of the prophet St. John, the feasts of the apostles Peter and Paul, St. Lawrence, St. Lambert, All Saints and St. Andrew. The Common of the Saints followed. A third group consisted of the major temporal feasts in chronological order, among which were included the feasts of St. Stephen, St. John the Apostle, and Holy Innocents. An anonymous series of lesser sanctoral feasts made up a fourth section. The entire book was concluded by the de dedicacione festival and a group of miscellaneous material for the well being of the soul.

Stephen claimed that all the entries noted in his preface were placed at the beginning of the 'Liber capitularis' as one would today arrange a table-of-contents: 'In suo denique uti queque facilius



inueniantur loco, capitulatim hic subtus maturaui omnino  
annotare.'[69]

His methodological approach was also applied to the research which preceeded the actual writing of the 'Liber'. After a careful study ('cura sollers') of the fathers, he noted down all the 'little things' ('repperi omnia minima') that were missing. This implies that Stephen had conceived of the idea for a book which he had never seen but which he felt was now needed in the liturgy. He researched the holdings of his library(ies?, as he was by then Abbot of Lobbes and Bishop of Tongres and Liège)[70] to compile the material needed for the particular book he had in mind ('campos bibliothecae percurrens'). The material was then organized according to the order-of-service, and the feasts according to their hierarchical importance as described above. His preface is also highly conventional, conforming to the topoi common to literary styles prevalent in ninth- and tenth-century prefatory writings.[71]

A highly competent writer of liturgical texts, Stephen had the skills necessary to compile a book of chapters, collects and choral material which could have dramatically improved the state of liturgical books currently available for the offices. If his book had survived, it would have considerably widened our understanding of the collectar, and it is doubtful whether collectarium would have been a suitable designation. Certainly on the continent, the 'collectars' have shown a great variety of form and terminology, as is apparent when Stephen's 'Liber capitularis', the 'Orazionale Pacifico' and the



'Baturich Collectar' can be discussed in the same chapter. It is obvious that the name of the book containing collectar texts has varied in order to take account of the different stages of its development when different constituents of the book were emphasized.[72]

Stephen's 'Liber capitularis' was not the only type of collectar produced on the Continent in the tenth century. Collectars from northern France and southern Germany have survived which disregard Stephen's plans to include choral material. They restrict their provisions, like the DC, to the office reading texts: i.e., the chapters and collects. Rheims BM Ms.304 [=Th1] was written probably at St.-Remi, early tenth century, and adapted for use at St. Thierry by mid-century.[73] The argument offered by Bischoff and Deshusses for a compilation in the first half of this century accords very well with the slight improvement which Th1 exhibits over an otherwise similar structure it bears to DC.[74]

Th1 separates chapters from collects and, unlike DC, isolates them completely into two independent sections. The more primitive concept of the 'separated' books, as in FrP, persists here, but in a much more sophisticated fashion. The chapters for only the major temporal and sanctoral feasts of the year (a total of nineteen feasts) occur on ff.6r-15r. Various prayers and litanies follow until f.34r. This folio, the first folio of a new quire, marks the beginning of the collectar proper, filling the next nine quires, the first two of which are inverted.[75] The chapters are introduced by a very rare and

therefore all the more valuable preface entitled 'Incipit prefatio capitulorum' (f.5v). Its importance merits that it be printed here in full. Damaged text is noted within angle brackets in which the number of illegible letters are represented by dots. Extended abbreviations/suspensions are underlined; those not extended have retained the apostrophe which the scribe originally used to mark abbreviations.

#### INCIPIIT PREFATIO CAPITULORUM

Capitula que beatus pater Benedictus lectiones vocat, qualiter per anni circulum dicenda sint, annotare volumus; quas scilicet lectiones privatis diebus, ad nocturnos, post duodecim psalmorum expletionem, ad matutinos vero post cantica et laudes, ex Apostolo recitare iubet. Dominicis uero diebus, eandem lectionem post benedictiones, et laudes, ex apocalipsi recitandam esse memoratur. In festiuitatibus quoque sanctorum et omnibus sollempnitatibus ut est sollempnitas aduentus dni', natalis dni', epyphanie, quadragesime, pasche, ascensionis, pentecostes, in eisdem horis id est nocturnis & matutinis, ille lectiones recitentur, que ex eodem aplo' sumpte ad easdem sollempnitates pertinere uideantur. Reliquis namque horis id est, prima, tertia, Sexta, nonaque et uespera, siue completario, quolibet lectiones dicantur, ab eodem patre minime docetur. In his igitur eis utamur quas usus ecclesiasticus habere probatur. Pro posse ergo iuxta capacitatem nostri ingenii olim eadem capitula sub notentur ut totius <...>fusionis et r<...>re aplo' uihil <.>ac<...> pro n<...> <...>andis beati patris benedicti <.....> <.....>nut praeceptis.[76]

It is very likely that a similar prefatory remark introduced the much larger section of collects; but since the confusion over the inverted quires resulted in the loss of the proper beginning of the collectar, which now begins incompletely in the middle of the provisions for the feast of St. Agatha, unfortunately no evidence survives to substantiate this claim. One must be content to examine the preface to the chapters.

The preface on f.5v prescribes the sections of the Scriptures which ought to be read at the offices in accordance with the monastic rule of St. Benedict. These concern Nocturns and Matins ('ad matutinos...laudes' = our Lauds) on ferial days, Sundays, and on sanctoral and temporal feasts. The offices of the lesser hours, that is, Prime through Compline, must follow the little readings ('lectiones') which are set out in the Rule. Accordingly, the book of chapters which follows on ff.6r-15r comply with these instructions. They are taken from the Scriptures, and the offices for which they are intended are indicated. These rubrics and the prefatory instructions are important improvements which the compilation in DC had not even begun to incorporate (although the preface, alas, can no longer be verified on account of the fragmentary beginnings of DC.) The formulae in Th1 by no means follow the same pattern as that of the 'Liber capitularis'. The chapters form a separate book which precede the collects, and these in turn are followed by various prayers, benedictions and rituals from ff.120v-165. Hence, the purported influence of the Lotharingian book, with its integrated structure, had not extended to the rémois regions of northern France.

Nearly one hundred years later, Th1 received a recension in Rheims BM. Ms. 305 [=Th2], which used several other texts aside from its primary exemplar, Th1.[77] Th2 provides only chapters and collects for the liturgical festivals, and, unknown even to its main exemplar, has alternated the groups on the same principles as has been done in DC, where sections of chapters precede collects on the major feast days. Ff.1-90v of Th2 contain alternating groups of chapters and collects, with the collects outnumbering the former. The Common of Saints conclude this section, a 'sign-post' which has occurred regularly in other collectars. On f.91, in mid-quire, the 'orationes diversae' begin, including a number of near-standard ritual formulae, many of which agree in title, if not always textually, with the ritual formulae in DC, ff.45r-61r.[78] These rituals fill approximately one quarter of the manuscript, covering 34 out of the 125 folios of the book. It is arguable that since a section devoted to ritual formulae is frequently found among the 'collectar' books of the tenth century (excluding those of Stephen's type) and since many of the same provisions are covered among them, they should be regarded as a common if not necessary constituent of the tenth-century collectar book. The fact that no codicological breaks in Th2 separate the rituals on f.91r, other than starting on a new folio, lends support to this view. The manuscript is entitled 'Incipiunt capitula cum collectis', and this indicates that a general development has been made concerning the advantage which a combined format contributed to the efficient ordering of the offices. As regards nomenclature, the immediate result of integrating collects with chapters was to lose the concept of the 'pure collectar' while not yet attaining the distinction of 'office collectar' as represented in Stephen's book. An alternative

collector-book is discernable here which appears to concentrate on presenting an efficient, working copy of reading texts for use in the offices.

Collectars of the south German region, from the tenth century onwards, present a structure similar to Th1, but with an increasing emphasis on the ritual portion of the manuscript. With choral material significantly absent, the chapters and collects are rigorously separated into independent 'books' and a third and final 'book' containing the rituals has been dramatically extended. The most relevant prototype among the German witnesses for this arrangement is the Baturich Collectar and Pontifical [=FrB]. But whereas it is likely that the 'collector' and 'ritual' books in FrB once existed separately, the service-books from Schaftlarn, Freising and Augsburg were composed as an inseparable trilogy of 'lectionary', 'collector', and 'ritual'. Each section was normally set off by a distinctive and often illuminated title or title page.

CLM Ms.17027 [=Shf], a tenth-century manuscript from the monastery of Schaftlarn, does not have the beginning of the lectionary. The collector commences on f.25r with a fairly elaborate title 'Incipiunt collectae per circulum anni de aduentu dni'. An elegantly illuminated 'I' initial extends down the full length of the left-hand margin where the figure of Christ is framed within an intricate border of interlaced red stems and green foliage against a lapis lazuli background. Notable for preserving certain 'archaic' or rare collects peculiar to the DC in its provisions for St. John the

Baptist and the BVM Nativity,[79] Shf is even more remarkable for the precise way it has separated its material into three sections. The chapters, ff.1-24, are divided into the temporal, sanctoral and Common of the Saints with special provisions for Sundays and ferials in die and in nocte. The collects, ff.25-71, are divided into the same with the addition of the now-standard orationes cottidianae occurring here before the Common of Saints. A second group of orationes cottidianae, this time coupled with versi, follows the Commons, ending with a series of votive prayers. The benedictions and rituals, ff.72-153, include some hymns. Although the ritual 'book' notably lacks the illuminated title page which marks the collectar (presumably the lectionary originally had one also), it is by far the most extensive section, occupying eighty-one folios in comparison to the seventy-one folios of the lectionary and collectar combined.[80]

The codicology of the manuscript does not indicate that the three 'books' were ever intended to stand alone. The last folio of the lectionary, f.24, is also the first folio of the next quire, the second folio of which, f.25, contains the illuminated initial and title page of the collectar.[81] The votive prayers following the orationes cottidianae in the collectar portion concludes with those for omnibus sanctis on f.71v. The prayer for St. Corbinian, patron saint of the diocese, follows on f.72r with no indication that a major break has been made in the text. It is arguable that the benedictions and prayers for various occasions do not actually begin until f.72v with orationes pro iter agentibus.



CLM Ms.3913 [=Ag2], written for the monastic community of St. Gallen in the early eleventh century and presented to Augsburg Cathedral by Bishop Hermann in 1133, presents a similar trilogy of office-texts as did Shf; the divisions are even more elaborate.[82] Ag2 devotes nearly an entire page, f.1v, to a full title of the first two books of the manuscript: 'In nomine dni in hoc libello continentur lectiones, sive orationes collectivae, ad diversos cursos, tam diebus quam noctibus, per circulum totius anni recursus.' The function of the manuscript is clearly stated: it was specifically designed to contain the chapters and collects for reading at the offices throughout the year. But the title offers no indication that prayers for varia occasiones, benedictions, and an incomplete ritual for the dead will take up ff.204-230; nor does it justify the fact that the first entry, pro iter agentibus, begins not on a new folio, but continues after the cottidianis diebus collects (after the ad completorium) on f.204v. Although ignored in the explicit intention of the compiler's title, the benedictional-ritual section forms an integral part of Ag2.

The cryptic though obvious demarcation of the lectionary occurs at the bottom of the same page after the manuscript title: 'Inprimi, de aduentu dni'. A succession of chapters for the temporal, sanctoral and the Common of the Saints and the orationes cottidianae follow. The collectar begins on f.51r with the rubric, 'Incipiunt orationes de aduentus dni'. These are organized according to the same divisions as the lectionary, with the addition of votive prayers until f.204r. Both the lectionary and collectar 'books' are set off by a large illuminated initial. The illumination of the former is the more



impressive of the two: red and black foliage are woven into a delicate interlace with miniature faces peeping out from the design. The illumination of the collectar is drawn in red ink only, fabricating a simpler design of interlaced foliage.

Another manuscript from Augsburg, CLM Ms.3908 [=Ag1], written for Augsburg in the eleventh century some years later than Ag1, follows the same arrangement as its predecessor.[83] Both lectionary and collectar receive a titular introduction, 'Incipiunt lectiones' and 'Incipiunt orationes'. Simple illuminated initials occur in both sections for each major feast day. The title of the collectar is given special distinction with a full illumination consisting of a simple sketch of interlace design in forest green, royal blue, and bright red with occasional touches of tan. The lectionary begins unobtrusively on f.7, preceded by a calendar. The feasts are organized in the standard way: temporal, sanctoral, and the Commons. The collectar commences on f.73r, with its illuminated initial and follows the arrangement of the lectionary with a slight variation until f.183r.[84] After a small, intermediate section containing a litany and preces, the standard series of collects for various occasions begin on f.188r, followed by rituals and benedictions until f.211v. No attempt is made to offer an introductory rubric to separate the collectar from the ritual book. This indicates that by the eleventh century these ritual formulae were expected to conclude the office-book in which the collectar still held the most significant place.

CLM Ms.6427 [=Fs1] offers a further example. This mid-eleventh-century manuscript from Freising Cathedral attaches the benedictional and ritual section to the chapters and collects in what has now come to be recognized as a standard practice.[85] In this case, the chapters and collects do not form two separate 'books' but are organized into alternating groups, similar to the DC. Chapters precede collects for all temporal feasts, for the major sanctoral feasts, and for the Commune Sanctorum. A substantial ritual section has also concluded one final example, CLM Ms.22039, early twelfth century, from the monastery of St. Benedict in Wessobrunn. This manuscript devotes its first half to alternating chapters and collects, like DC, ff.1-111; the other half contains a very large section of rituals, ff.112v-255.[86]

Among the German collectars, the ritual section was frequently added with special indications to the collectar and lectionary. Relating these findings to England and the Durham Collectar, it should not be considered unusual to find a small ritual section at the end of it. The ritual formulae are written in the hand of the original scribe, occurring on ff.45r-60r. An argument can be made for referring technically to this section only as the 'Durham Ritual', instead of to the entire A.IV.19 manuscript as has been normally accepted until now. Theoretically the DR may also refer to most of the added material in the pages following those of the original scribe, until Aldred's educational additions on ff.85r-88v. In either case, the ritual portion of the A.IV.19 should not be regarded as an unrelated or archaic part of the manuscript in spite of the disappearance of this type of formulae in the later English books.

Historically, it remains an early example of what was to become a standard feature of collectar books on the Continent, and which reached its most sophisticated expression in the German collectars of the tenth through the twelfth centuries.

What restrictions, then, must liturgists impose on the term 'collectar' if they are to use it accurately? If 'collectar' is taken to mean, as Du Cange has defined it, 'liber ecclesiasticus in quo 'collectae' ad quaevis officia dicendae continentur',[87] there is no evidence that it existed in England, nor on the Continent later than the ninth century. But liturgical books are not likely to conform to this sort of rigid definition. The collectar sections in DC, Lf, Wp and Hy, shared certain constituents and organizational principles; yet each witness exercised a flexibility in acquiring other related material or in imposing alternative arrangements. This must be taken into account, although liturgical historians have frequently failed to do this. For example, in linking 'portiforium' with 'breviarum' without qualification, A. Hughes failed to make this distinction about the Wp, and it was not until Gneuss's recent study that Wp was classified in print, with greater precision, as a 'primitive breviary'.[88]

The same reservations should be observed for other collectars. In England, the 'pure' collectar did not survive. Of the extant witnesses, DC, Lf, Wp, and Hy have been discussed in the same chapter because they have devoted a specific part of the manuscript to the collects recited at the offices. All four include a varying number of

chapters, and by attaching them to the collects, it gave the lector an enormous advantage, as it was his duty to read both chapter and collect at the offices. Lf and Wp have introduced choral material, occasionally noted, and have assigned them, with chapter and collect, to a specific hour. Confronted with this evidence, one is justified to classify the DC and Hy as 'primitive' collectars as regards structure, content and rubrics.

A definition of the 'collectar' is needed which will take into account its flexibility as a service-book and its function as an aid to a more efficient performance of the offices. The history of the DC provides the perfect example: its final twenty-three folios consist of a variety of other office material besides the chapters and collects, in addition to Aldred's 'educational entries', all of which were added some fifty years later in another part of the country. Gneuss's definition of the collectar is the most adequate alternative published so far: 'This service-book contains the chapters (capitula), that is, short lessons taken from scripture, and the collects, read at each hour of the divine service except Nocturns. Collectars may be expanded by including other elements of the office, and they may be bound up with other Office-books.'[89] Two qualifications need be added here. Although Gneuss is assuming that the 'unexpanded' collectar existed in England, there is no evidence that it did. Further, a 'service-book' need not imply some sort of grand book which was authorized by the highest of ecclesiastical authority, as was the sacramentary. Service-books such as the collectar could and did evolve easily out of the necessity to compile office material for a more practical ordering of the liturgy.

In the following chapter (Chapter 3), a more detailed analysis of some of the more important collectar texts is presented. It is hoped that by providing specific evidence from the very early continental collectars, the case for the ever-changing and practical nature of these office books will become stronger. It is, however, essential at this point to show why CLM 6333 must be rejected as a collectar text. The collectar from Abbot Aelfwine's book is analyzed last. As it bears a critical resemblance to the DC in its Commune Sanctorum, thus offering a criterion for establishing the DC provenance, this study will provide the necessary transition from the study of collectars in England and on the Continent (Chapters Two and Three) to a concentrated examination of DC and its liturgical provisions in Chapter Four.

## Notes to Chapter Two

1. CLM 6333, ff.23, 29, 104, 105 [=SUP], a palimpsest text whose function as a sacramentary excarpsus in the mass, and not in the offices, is argued below in Chapter 3, Part 1.

2. H. Gneuss, 'Liturgical books in Anglo-Saxon England and their Old English Terminology,' Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England, edd. M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss (1985), 113.

3. H. Gneuss, Learning and Literature, 113.

4. Texts containing gospel collects or psalter collects, etc. have not been dealt with in any detail, although texts of the former frequently survive among medieval manuscript catalogues, see R.-J. Hesbert, 'Les Manuscrits liturgiques de Jumièges,' Jumièges Congrès Scientifique du XIII<sup>e</sup> centenaire, 2 (Rouen, 1955), 868. For discussion of different uses of collects in the offices, see Père Gy's seminal article, 'Collectaire, rituel, processional,' Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques, 44(1960), esp.441-454 [hereafter referred to as RSPTh]; and more generally in his subsequent article, 'Typologie et ecclésiologie des livres liturgiques

médiévaux,' La Maison-Dieu, 121(1975), 9-11, 15-16.

5. E. Adda, 'L' Orazionale dell' Arcidiacono Pacifico,' L'Orazionale dell' Arcidiacono Pacifico e il Carpsum del cantore Stefano: Studi e testi sulla liturgia del duomo di Verona dal IX all' XI sec., edd. G.G. Meersseman, et. al., (1974), 53. For further discussion of the excarpsus and its Latin derivation from excerpere in connection with CLM 6333, see A. Dold, 'Palimpsest-Studien II,' Texte-und-Arbeiten 15-18(1930), 41 and n.1. For its earliest application to the sacramentary, see relevant section (the 'M-Typus') in K. Gamber, Sakramentarypen, 103ff.

6. J.B.L. Tolhurst, The Monastic Breviary of Hyde Abbey, Winchester, 6 (HBS, 80, 1942), 162.

7. See Chapter Seven, Part (e).

8. F. Wormald, 'The liturgical contents of the manuscript,' The Durham Ritual, edd. T.J. Brown, et al. (EEMF, 16, 1969), 43.

9. E.S. Dewick, The Leofric Collectar, v.1 (HBS, 45, 1914), 358-430.



10. H. Gneuss, Hymnar und Hymnen im Englischen Mittelalter (1968), 108, a 'new hymnal' with correspondences to Canterbury and Winchester.

11. Gneuss Hymnar, 106-108, has described the hymnal as a complete Benedictine hymnal of the Winchester type. For dating of the script, see N.R. Ker, Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon (1957), 115.

12. Porto, portare, to bear or carry along; hence 'Portiforium' is a Latin loan-word.

13. For a full analysis of the manuscript, see below, Chapter Three, Part 4.

14. H. Gneuss, Learning and Literature, 113.

15. For prayers to be recited at the canonical hours, see the original part of the A.IV.19, ff.60r-61r; for limited number of Gallican Capitella, see additions to the A.IV.19, ff.78r-80v, 82v-83r. On the Gallican Capitella, see Tolhurst, The Monastic Breviary of Hyde Abbey, v.6, 30ff.

16. The only accurate account of the St. Nicholas liturgy appears in a book review by C. Hohler, 'The Proper Office of St. Nicholas and related matters with reference to a recent book,' Medium Aevum, 36(1967), pp.40-48.

17. Ker, Catalogue, no.202; Gneuss, Learning and Literature, 113.

18. C. Hohler, 'Some Service-Books of the later Saxon Church,' Tenth-Century Studies, ed. D. Parsons (1975), 61-62, and nn.5,6,8.

19. For a more detailed analysis of this manuscript, see below, Chapter Three, Part 2.

20. See note 5 above.

21. The argument that this could have been a feature of the original exemplar of FrS is made less convincing with the evidence of St. Gallen 348, where the designations for Matins and Vespers do not occur.

22. A. Holder, Die Reichenauer Handschriften, 2(1914), 383; K. Gamber CLLA, (2nd edn., 1968), no. 1502; P.-M. Gy, RSPHTh, 452. It does not appear in E.A. Lowe, CLA, 8(1959). A semi-diplomatic edition of this partially edited fragment appears in Appendix II, with

collation tables. Any successful argument must begin with new data supplied from the fragment and related sources. A re-consideration of the evidence based on findings from this edition can be found in Chapter Three, Part 3.

23. These terms are taken from: D.J. Vives, ed., Oracional Visigótico, (Monumenta Hispaniae Sacra, serie liturgica, 1, 1946); C. Vogel, Introduction aux sources de l'histoire du culte Chrétien au moyen Age (1975), 26,n.72; Lowe, CLA 4(1947), no. 515, respectively.

24. For terminology, see M. Férotin, Le Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum et les Manuscrits Mozarabes (Monumenta Ecclesiae Liturgica, 6, 1912), xxxvi; for edition of prayers, see Vives, Oracional Visigótico, pp.148-157.

25. Férotin, Le Liber Mozarabicus, lxx. The number of sets will vary: the Nativity has seven sets, whereas the minor feasts will provide only one set.

26. Férotin, Le Liber Mozarabicus, lxvi-lxix.

27. Adda, 'L'Orazionale Pacifico,' 53, dates the origins of the eighth-century Gelasians to 780. A. Dumas-J. Deshusses, Liber Sacramentorum Gellonensis, (CCsl, 159A, 1981), xix, date the archetype of their manuscript (the earliest surviving copy, c.790-800, of an eighth-century Gelasian), to 760-770. B. Moreton, The Eighth-Century

Gelasian Sacramentary: A Study in Tradition (1976), 15, 173, also favors this earlier date, along with, most recently, W.G. Storey and N.K. Rasmussen in the revised Introduction... of C. Vogel, in Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources, revised and trans., W.G. Storey and N.K. Rasmussen (1986), 76. In the most recent edition of an eighth-century Gelasian, P. Saint-Roch, ed., Liber sacramentorum engolismensis (CCsl, 159C, 1987), xi, pushes the compilation of his manuscript as early as 768-781; but he provides very little evidence for this early claim.

28. Adda, 'L'Orazionale Pacifico,' 55, argues that the Frankish-Gelasian exemplar of OP must have been written (at Reichenau?) c. 790, to which Hadrianum prayers were added before the Hadrianum took over 'completely' in 800, hence 798-799. But this lacks any acknowledgement of the slow adoption of the Hadrianum which recently scholars have now come to accept; cf. H. Barré and J. Deshusses, 'A la recherche du missel d'Alcuin,' EL, 82(1968), 3-44.

29. Adda, 'L'Orazionale Pacifico,' 53-54. The remains of Zeno, a Verona saint, were translated to a Verona church which was then re-consecrated in his honour in the eighth or ninth century. The exact date of the ceremony is the crux of the argument. Evidence from the martyrology of St. Zeno suggests a date of 806-7 for the translation. For an assessment of the intellectual productivity from Verona under Bishop Egino (?796-799) and under arch-deacon Pacificus, cf. D. Bullough, The Age of Charlemagne (1965), 121. See N.K. Rasmussen, Les Pontificaux du haut moyen age: genèse du livre de

l'évêque (1977), 455, for extent of Pacificus's books.

30. Adda, 'L'Orazionale Pacifico,' 54. Only January and February survive in Karlsruhe, Aug. CXII, covering the feasts of Agnes (21 Jan.), Simeon (2 Feb.), Agatha (5 Feb.), and the Cathedral of St. Peter (22 Feb.); see Gamber, Sakramentartypen, 107-109.

31. See Appendix II, where the edited prayers in FrR have been collated with those of OP, and see Chapter Three, Part 3, where this proposal is carried out.

32. Verona Biblioteca Capitolare, Cod.XCII (87) has entries in the hand of Pacificus; Rasmussen, Les Pontificaux, 455 and n.13; M. Andrieu, Les "Ordines Romani" du Haut Moyen Age, 1(1931), 367-373.

33. The analogy is not quite accurate; the question should be raised whether FrR's fragmentary state would not have originally included other office material; see Chapter Three, Part 3.

34. F. Unterkircher and K. Gamber, edd., Das Kollektar-Pontifikale des Bischofs Baturich von Regensburg (817-848) (1962); see also book review by E.J. Lengeling in Théologische Revue, 59(1963), 192-195.

35. Cf., vigil of the Nativity, FrB 1::GrH 34=sc; Nativity, FrB 6::GrH 40=pc, FrB 7::GrH 48=pc; Annunciation of BVM, FrB 31::GrH 142=sc, FrB 32::GrH 143=pc.

36. Unterkircher and Gamber, Das Kollektar-Pontifikale, 41-42,n.1; Lengeling review, 192, where he cites a collectar-pontifical of Arezzo (Oxford, Bodl. Litur., 359), an 'Abtpontifikale und Festkollektar' from Compiègne (Paris, B.N. lat. n. acq. 2358), and another from Saint-Vaast (Arras 702); Rasmussen, Les Pontificaux, 457,n.23, notes the combination of a pontifical with a collectar in the Pontifical of Freiburg, ed. M.J. Metzger, Zwei Karolingische Pontificalien vom Oberrhein (Freiburg i Br., 1914).

37. Rasmussen, Les Pontificaux, 386, cites reservations expressed by Lengeling, Theologische Revue, and by K. Amon in Liturgisches Jahrbuch 13(1963), 255-256, and also more hesitantly by Unterkircher and Gamber, Das Kollektar-Pontifikale, 6.

38. Unterkircher and Gamber, Das Kollektar-Pontifikale, 39-44, esp.42; Rasmussen, Les Pontificaux, 457; see also B. Bischoff, Die Südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit: Die Bayrischen Diozesen, 1 (3rd edn., 1974), 177, for assessment of reforms initiated by Baturich.

39. Unterkircher and Gamber, Das Kollektar-Pontifikale, 41, also mention the Missale Francorum, the Freiburg Pontifical and Donaueschingen Ms.192, as further examples.

40. FrB 452::DR 587, for ad barbas tondendas (p.97); FrB 457::DR 585, for postquam tonsorati est seq'tur ora' (p.96); FrB 498a-501::DR 609, for consecratio [uirginis] (pp.104-105). DR numbers refer to my enumeration, which is to be published separately. References to the pages in Lindelof's edition of the DR are given in parantheses.

41. Unterkircher and Gamber, Das Kollektar-Pontifikale, 43; Bischoff Die Südostdeutschen Schreibschulen, 177, has established connections between St. Emmeram and Fulda through Baturich, monk of St. Emmeram, who studied for some time at Fulda, and Baturich's friendship with Hrabanus Maurus. Bischoff has suggested that Baturich sent one of his monks to study under Hrabanus at Fulda, see esp. 179.

42. Bischoff, Die Südostdeutschen Schreibschulen, 177, 218.

43. Rasmussen, Les Pontificaux, 386, citing K. Amon Liturgisches Jahrbuch 13 (1963), 255-256. But Unterkircher and Gamber, Das Kollektar-Pontifikale, 42, have argued that Baturich had the book made specifically to carry from one church to another; and this possibility, however unlikely, must be considered.



44. FrB 26::GrH 787=cl, Dom III de Aduentu; FrB 27::GrH 801=ao, XII lectiones de Aduentu; FrB 28::GrH 263=sp, Quattuor Coronati; FrB 29::GrH 547=ao, XII lectiones in Pentecostem. The FrB collects for fer vi and sab in quinquagesima correspond to the Lenten season in the Hadrianum: FrB 30::GrH 154=cl, Caput de ieiuniis; FrB 36::GrH 198=ao, sabb. in quadragesima.

45. P. Siffrin, ed., 'Der Collectar der Abtei Prüm im neunten Jahrhundert,' Miscellanea Liturgica in honorem L. Cunibert Mohlberg, 2, (EL 23, 1949), 223, 234-5: 'hat so manche Berührungspunkte mit dem späteren Liber capitularis Stephans von Tongern.' But Siffrin admitted that a comparison with the three later English collectars had not yet been done. This collation has now been made and the following discussion is based upon its findings. Due to limited space, the results have not been printed here; I am willing to produce the data on request.

46. A. Dold, 'Die Zürcher und Peterlinger Messbuch-Fragmente', Text und Arbeiten 25(1934), xxxii, and n.2; 'Liber de diuinis officiis,' PL 101(1863), col.1251.

47. The Annunciation is supplied with two collects for first Vespers (FrP 21-22) and two collects for Matins, FrP 23-24. The Purification has only three: first Vespers (FrP 18), the post euangelium (FrP 19), and Matins (FrP 20).

48. The Purification post euangelium (FrP 19): 'Concede qs dne ds nr ut qui genetricis filii tui sollempnia celebramus; eius intercessione et ab omnibus liberemur adversis et perennibus gaudiis inseremus. Per eundem dnm nrm.'

49. (St. John) FrP 9::DC 310::Lf 28=v1::Wp 1387=v1. (Holy Innocents) FrP 12::DC 317::Lf 32=m::Wp 1408=m. (St. Paul) FrP 41::DC 384::Lf 200=v1::Wp 1506=v1.

50. FrP (rubric) no.20.a::Lf 217=v1::1527=v1. FrP (rubric) no.20.b::Lf 218=m::Wp 1531=m(variants). FrP (rubric) no.20.c::Lf 218=t::Wp 1536=t. This feast day is missing in DC.

51. The chapters may or may not have preceded the collects of the Prüm collectar in its original form.

52. Siffrin, Miscellanea Liturgica, 226, correctly dates the hymnal which Blume had ascribed to the tenth century to c.860 on account of the script and the inclusion of a hymn attributed to Wandalbert in 860, for Sts. Chrysanthus and Daria whose relics were translated to Prüm from Rome in 836. But W. Haubriches, Die Kultur der Abtei Prüm zur Karolingerzeit (1979), 162-163, dates the translation to 844 and the composition of the hymn to 850, citing Analecta Hymnica 51, no.149. Gneuss, Hymnar, 49,n.26, still attributes it to the tenth century, presumably relying on Blume's mistaken dating.

53. Gneuss, Hymnar, 49, and n.26.

54. Siffrin, Miscellanea Liturgica, 226.

55. Siffrin, ibid, 225. P. Batiffol, History of the Roman Breviary (trans., 1912), 74-75, cites the description of Gerbert's 'Anonymous Liturgist' for the reading before Compline as an extension of the evening meal recitation and is accordingly read in the refectory. But this reading is considered to be an archaic rite, which ceased to be practised under the reforms of Amalarius. Its occurrence here provides another indication of the date of these particular entries, predating his reforms of 811-3.

56. Siffrin, Miscellanea Liturgica, 233, has interpreted the feasts of St. John's Passion and St. Bartholomew as evidence for a Gallican influence; but surely these feasts are a product of the supplemented Hadrianum, some copy of which must have been the main source of FrP.

57. Siffrin, ibid, 224; Haubrichs, Die Kultur der Abtei Prüm, 67-68.

58. Siffrin, ibid, 235; only a Prüm calendar dating to 820 and probably written at Metz survives from this period. M. Keuffer, Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek zu Trier, 4 (1900) may offer more information on the Prüm books now

preserved at Trier.

59. Siffrin, Miscellanea Liturgica, 226; Haubrichs, Die Kultur der Abtei Prüm, 67, notes that the extent of the Norman devastation at Prüm in 892 would have occasioned the addition of the dedication prayers there instead of Trier; but on liturgical grounds, the years before 900 are premature for attributing a full office composition.

60. Siffrin, ibid, 237.

61. Regino dies in 915; Haubrichs, Die Kultur der Abtei Prüm, 68, has established relations between Regino and Stephen of Liège (d. 920).

62. Ed. C. Mohlberg, Liber capitularis (Mélanges d'histoire offerts à Ch. Moeller, 1914), 350-360. A semi-diplomatic edition with interpreted (due to the near-senseless meaning of some of the Latin passages) and translated versions appear in Appendix III. The preface survives in only one copy, (Cologne, Stadtarchiv Ms GB 4° 174, ff.166rb-167ra) in a late fourteenth-century Gothic cursive script from the hand of a Cologne monk, who interpolated Stephen's preface into a copy of Radulph of Rivo's 'Liber de officiis ecclesiasticis' (ff.156r-170v) at the place where Radulph gives an account of Stephen's book, see note 67 below. Radulph's text is preceded in the manuscript by Henricus de Bitterfeld's 'Tractatus de horis canonicis' (ff.151r-154v), and verses for the canonical hours and for the dead

(f.155rv). Following an empty page after Radulph's conclusion are an anonymous tract 'Informatio ad quendam clericum de modo vivendi' (ff.172r-174r) and Rodolphus de Gravia's 'De infernalibus nequiciis caelestibus' (f.174v). The entire manuscript is a miscellany of monastic tracts and liturgical texts. See J. Vannesbusch, Die Theologischen Handschriften des Stadtarchivs Köln, 2 (1980), 190-195.

63. Note possibility of book-borrowing in the ninth century between Metz and Prüm/Trier in M. Keuffer, Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek zu Trier, 4 (1900); see also Haubrichs, Die Kultur der Abtei Prüm, 67.

64. W.H. Frere, The Leofric Collectar Compared with the Collectar of St. Wulfstan, 2 (HBS, 56, 1921), xxiv-xxv; and Hohler, 'Some Service-Books,' 70. A. Dold, 'Überreste eines verschollenen Liturgiebuches -- eines Liber Capitularis -- aus der Palimpsest-Handschrift S 366 der Bonner Universitätsbibliothek,' Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft 3(1923), 58-59, relates Stephen's book to Lf and also to a third, a late twelfth-century collectar from the monastery of St. Ludger at Werden an der Ruhr, Bonn Ms Palimpsest-S 366 [=Wrd]. But Siffrin, 'Collectare von Werden a. d. Ruhr,' Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft, 6(1926), 231, has refuted the link between Wrd 'und den englischen Collectaren.'

65. A. Auda, L'Ecole musicale liégeoise au Xe siècle. Etienne de Liège (1923), esp.37ff. As regards the Holy Trinity offices, D.A. Bullough is not so categorical, arguing that ninth-century manuscripts contain 'Alcuinian' material, composed either by Alcuin or by his circle of pupils (which Bullough thinks more likely). It is possible that Stephen had reorganized this older material for his more sophisticated compositions of the tenth century. For the Cuthbert offices, see Hohler's proposal in 'Some Service-Books,' 70, and n.36.

66. Literally, Stephen has asked for Robert's general approval, 'que...tibi solidanda committo' (ed., Mohlberg, Liber capitularis, 358; ed. Appendix III of this thesis, 3, 7 [trans.]); but it is to be assumed that this would result in a general dissemination of the text, a fact which the later chroniclers have confirmed, see note 67 below.

67. Folcuin (d. 990), 'De gestis abbatum laubiensium,' PL 137(1879), c.18, col.559; Anselm of Liège (d. 1056), 'Gesta episcoporum leodiensium,' ed. R. Koepke, MGH, Scriptores, 7(1846), c.20, 200; Sigebert of Gembloux (d. 1112), 'Liber de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis,' PL 160(1880), c.125, col.573-574; Radulph of Rivo (d. 1403), 'De canonum observantia,' ed. C. Mohlberg, Radulph de Rivo (1915), prop. 13; but Radulf implies that the book did not circulate everywhere: 'Alemanni autem plures alium modum habent capitulandi. Nam ipsorum multae ecclesiae in officiando habent sua propria capitula et orationes...', reprinted in Mohlberg, Liber capitularis, 356.

68. Ed. Mohlberg, Liber capitularis, 357; ed. in Appendix III [trans.].

69. The late fourteenth-century scribe, whose copy of Stephen's preface is unique, has superimposed Roman numerals over the incipit of each of the titles, placing some doubt over whether or not the numerical ordering was an original feature of Stephen's overall plan.

70. Auda, L'Ecole musicale liégeoise, 30-35; Mohlberg, Liber capitularis, 350.

71. A remarkable similarity exists in the prefaces to Stephen's 'Liber capitularis' and to Walafrid Strabo's 'De Exordiis'. I have prepared a full table of the parallel texts, of which there are six important examples. Two are cited here: (Stephen) 'ipsorum cura sollers' [being meticulous as to a careful (study) of the fathers]::(Strabo) 'diligenti examinatione discussa' [after having run through them in a careful review]. (Stephen) 'repperi omnia nimia, ac propterea ut reor ab illis prorsus ommissa' [I found out all the inessential things and for that reason, I think, completely neglected by them]::(Strabo) 'non a prioribus penitus ommissa sed brevius, quam volueras' [not wholly omitted by the earlier writers but touched upon more briefly than you might want]. Liber capitularis, ed. Mohlberg, 357; see Appendix III, 2. 'De exordiis,' ed. V. Krause, MGH, Legum Sectio 2, Capitularia Regum Francorum, 2(1897), 475; trans. with commentary in A.L.H. Corrêa's forthcoming thesis (see bibliography).



72. From the controversy of Dold and Siffrin over the relations between Wrd, Stephen's book, and the English collectars (see note 64 above), one can conclude that the standard collectar-format rarely remained unadapted. See also the puzzle which a late eleventh-century collectar fragment (origins/prov. unknown) existing now in Stuttgart, W.L., Cod. Frgm. 13 [=Swl] presented to A. Dold, 'Ein merkwürdiges Liturgiefragment,' Sacris Erudiri 4(1952), 285ff; he failed to understand the non-standard arrangement of ten chapters and nine collects for Passiontide. Cf. the knotty issue of DC's provision of thirteen collects (and no chapters!) for All Saints.

73. For an analysis of the liturgical text and its relationship to the DC, see below Chapter Four, Part 2. An extensive description can found in Catalogue Général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France, 38.1 (1904), 363-367.

74. Deshusses, 'Sur quelques anciens livres liturgiques de Saint-Thierry, les étapes d'une transformation de la liturgie,' St. Thierry. une abbaye du vi<sup>e</sup> au xx<sup>e</sup> siècle, ed. M. Bur (1979), 141, attributes Th1 to early tenth century on remarks by Bischoff. See also Gy, RSPHTh, 452; F.M. Carey, 'The Scriptorium of Reims during the Archbishopric of Hincmar, 854-888,' Classical and Medieval Studies in honor of E.K. Rand, ed. L.W. Jones (1968), (1938), 58; Ch. Samaran and R. Marichal, Catalogues des manuscrits en écriture latine, v (1965), 654. M-P Laffitte, La Bibliothèque et le scriptorium de Saint-Thierry de Reims (970-1225) (unpubl. doctoral thesis, University of Paris, 1969), 177-178, continues to attribute

Th1 to late ninth century on paleographical grounds; and again in 'Esquisse d'une Bibliothèque Médiévale: le fonds de manuscrits de l'abbaye de Saint Thierry,' Saint-Thierry, ed. M. Bur, 74. But if the monks of St. Thierry fled to Reims in 885 to escape the Normans, as Laffitte maintains in her thesis, it is difficult to believe that the adaptation in Th1 could have been made within the brief space of fifteen years before the tenth century. H. Chabrol, 'L'Abbaye de Saint-Thierry,' Supplément à la Lettre de Ligugé, 157(Jan., 1973), 6, has prolonged the difficult times until 972. This suggests that if adaptations were made to Th1, these must have been done not at St. Thierry but at Rheims, the monks' place of refuge.

75. Ff.50r-57v, from the Nativity to St. Agnes, should precede ff.34r-49v, from St. Agatha to feria vi in Dom V post Sab. It is possible that the confusion could have occurred as early as the eleventh century when, still very much in use as a service-book, Th1 had a folio added to its original corpus (f.81), which carried votive prayers for St. Theoderic, the patron saint of St. Thierry.

76. A diplomatic transcription made directly from the Rheims, BM. 304, f.5r, in August, 1984. My gratitude is extended to M. Laslier, Conservateur, for providing me with the microfilm in January 1985.

77. For analysis of its liturgical text and its relationship to the DC, see Chapters Four and Five. An extensive description can be found in Catalogue Général, 38.1 (1904), 367-369.

78. Th2 f.92v, Benedictio super ramos palmarum::DR 581-2, B' ramor' in palmis; Th2 f.94v, Super diversa ornamenta uel uasa::DR 588-90, Ben' s'r uasa reperta in locis an'q'is; Th(20 f.94v, Super nouo fructus::DR 591, B' arborum, DR 592, B' pomorum; Th2 f.94v, panis::DR 593, B' panis; Th2 f.94v, Nove domus::DR 596, B'domus; Th2 f.101, Exorzismus salis::DR 641, 647, Exorcizo te salis; Th2 f.112v, Oratio ad infantes consignandos::DR 646, Oratio ad infantes consignandos.

79. See collation tables in Appendix I for DC 358-363.57 (St. John, Bap.), and DC 429-436.88 (BVM Nativity); and see Chapter Four, Part 2, p.26. Gamber, CLA (1968), p.624; Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis 4.iii (1969), 76.

80. Ff.72-153 include prayers for various occasions; benedictions similar to those of the A.IV.19 and Th2; 'orationes sancti Gregoriani'; exorcisms with noted antiphons; ritual for the Purification of th BVM; ordeal by hot and cold water, and by iron. Hymns occur on ff.127v-153v. Cf. index of several ritual entries in A. Franz, Die Kirchlichen Benediktionen in Mittelalter, v.2, 655. This large ritual section is not unusual; see discussion of CLM 22039, p.46 and n.86, below.

81. A verse from Apc 4:11 is written on the last two lines of f.24v, in a slightly later hand, used as a prayer(?) to conclude the 'capitula' section of Shf: 'Dignus es dne [et] ds noster accipere gloriam et honorem et uirtutem quia tu creasti omnia <et propter> uoluntatem tuam erant et creata sunt.'

82. Gamber, CLLA (1968), 623; Catalogus...Monacensis, 1.11 (1894), 153; F.A. Hoeynck, Geschichte der Kirchlichen Liturgie des Bistums Augsburg (1889), 97-98, edition of the collects for St. Narcissus. CLM 3913, f.1r is a 'rescriptus', a twelfth-century charter copied by the canons of Augsburg, apparently a customary practise, evident also in CLM Mss 2, 3740, 3714, 3730, 3739, and 3860; cf. W. Berschin, et. al., ' "Augsburger Passionslied." Ein neuer romanischer Text des X. Jahrhunderts,' Lateinische Dichtungen des X. und XI. Jahrhunderts. Festgabe für Walther Bulst (Heidelberg, 1981), 251-278 (as cited in Scriptorium 36.1 (1982), 'Bulletin Codicologique,' no.20).

83. Gamber, CLLA (1968), p.623; Catalogus...Monacensis, 1.11 (1894), 152; Hoeynck, Geschichte...Augsburg, 353-367, for edition of the Ambrosian prayers which occur intermittently throughout CLM 3908.

84. The votives precede the orationes cottidianae which begin on ff.171v-183r, an unusual sequence.

85. Gamber, CLLA (1968), p.624; Catalogus...Monacensis, 3.iii (1968), 110. CLM 6427, f.66v, 'templi Frisingensis'; the note on f.157r indicates a date of origins no later than 1074.

86. This collectar is curious for what it lacks: no collects for Terce, Sext, or None; a very cryptic Commune Sanctorum (one or two key word incipits). It is also unique for preserving the DC's Alcuin collect DC 553.123 for a martyr or confessor. The book possibly functioned as a repository for the 'odd' formulæ which the other Wessobrunn service-books lacked. Cf. Gamber, CLLA, (1968) p.624; Catalogus...Monacensis, 4.iv (1969), 21; Franz, Die Kirchlichen Benediktionen, v.2, 224, for edn. of 'Benedictio ad introducendam post partum mulierem.'

87. Du Cange and D.P. Carpenter<sup>11</sup>, Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis, ed. G.A.L. Henschel (1842), 405, col.2; see R.E. Latham, Revised Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources (reprinted 1973), 379, col.3, for similar misconception.

88. A. Hughes, The Portiforium of Saint Wulfstan (HBS, 90, 1960), v.2, viii; Gneuss, Learning and Literature, 111. The nomenclature of 'primitive breviary' was not original to Gneuss, see Gy's discussion of the 'bréviaire primitif', RSPHTh, 446, and n.41, citing unpublished writings of S.J.P. Van Dijk; see also Gy, 'Les premiers bréviaires de Saint-Gall,' Liturgie Gestalt und Vollzug, ed. W. Durig (1963), 104-113.

89. Gneuss, Learning and Literature, 112.

## Chapter Three

### An analysis of four service-books

#### 3.a) The SUP fragment: a reassessment of das Rätsel

CLM 6333 is a palimpsest manuscript written in the early ninth century. Professor Bischoff has identified both lower and upper script as a Benediktbeuern production in southern Germany.[1] In the early years of the ninth century at Benediktbeuern, several texts had been drastically trimmed and over-written to form the present manuscript of CLM 6333.[2] In its present condition, CLM 6333 measures 175 X 125 mm, (a relatively small, portable size) made up of 132 folios dissimilar in size and quality. The text of the upper script, of a small regular minuscule, is a text of Jerome's De viris illustribus (ff. 11-83r) with the continuation of Gennadius beginning on f.83v to the end.[3] As a palimpsest, however, it is the material in the lower script, and a particular portion of it, which is of interest to this study.

These early texts include a letter from Charlemagne to Pope Hadrian, charters, synodal decrees for southern Germany; a fragment of the Rule with a verse of Simplicius; an account of the translation of the relics of St.Benedict and Scholastica to St.Benoît-sur-Loire; and fragments from liturgical books.[4] These last derive from four



different compilations of prayers.

Two of these, identified by their editor A. Dold as 'BEN' and 'ALP',[5], and which are possibly fragments surviving from early Gregorian sacramentaries, display important similarities with the fourth text.[6] A third, 'LIB[ellus]'. is a Libellus Missae for Ascension and Pentecost, possibly the earliest piece in this compilation.[7] The fourth is particularly relevant though its precise nature still remains controversial. Dold has identified it as a 'SUP[plement]'; but there is disagreement over whether it supplements a sacramentary or a collectar. There are several arguments for regarding it as a sacramentary supplement rather than the latter.

The original material of SUP occupies ff.23, 29, 104, and 105 of the present manuscript. At Benediktbeuern, the original folio size had been severely 'trimmed' to satisfy the 'new' dimensions of CLM 6333. On f.23, a vertical crease is clearly seen, positioned one-third from the outer edge of the present folio size. This represents the centre of the original manuscript, from which the original dimension of SUP can be calculated to some 250 mm in width -- a very large book indeed. Ff.104 and 105 still show traces of the primary script to the naked eye[8]; at least 18 lines of the original 21 survive, written in a tight minuscule script which is somewhat smaller than the script of the De viris illustribus. The extant text contains a collection of thirty-six prayers ordered as follows:[9]

Edn. no.	ff	Rubric
1.1-	23/29r	orationes de Adventu
1.6 \ 2.1-	29v/23r	dni \ orationes
	105r	de natali
2.8 \ 3.1-3.3 \	105v	dni \ fer. IIII p Dom. I in Qu \
4.1-4.3 \ 5.1-	104r	Dom. III in Qu \ fer. III
5.4 \ 6.1-6.3 \	104v	p. Dom. III \ Dom. VI in Qu \
7.1-		Sabbato
7.6 \	23r	sancto in nocte \
8.1-8.8	23v	Dom. Paschae

Two liturgical seasons are represented here: Advent/Nativity (no. 1.1-2.8) on ff.23v/29r and ff.105r/105v, and Lent/Easter (no. 3.1-8.8) beginning on the verso of f.105. The relationship between these two parts has puzzled liturgical scholars, and continues to obscure a more precise understanding of the use of this fragment in the early ninth-century liturgy at Benediktbeuern.

In his 1931 article, P. Siffrin distinguished part one from part two, suggesting that SUP derived from two different liturgical books. All fourteen collects surrounding the Nativity (1.1-2.8) consistently follow the Hadrianum [=GrH]; and, apart from the first set of ferial prayers, SUP continues to do so in part two until Easter (7.1-8.8). At this point, SUP does not assign prayers 7.3-7.6 to Dom. Sancta as does GrH but assigns them instead to the previous Sabbato sancto, in accordance with the Paduan sacramentary (Paduan Ms. D47) [=GrP].[10] He noted also that these two parts exhibit two different types of prayers. The first part contains collects only: 1.1-1.3 are collects

from the first three successive Sundays in Advent; 1.4-1.6 derive from the aliae orationes in Advent; and the final eight are from the aliae orationes for Nativity. The second group contains more of the internal prayers of the mass-set which, he argued, were to supplement the mass on those Lenten days when the sacraments of scrutinia and baptisma were not ministered. Siffrin saw an obvious distinction in textual history and in application between these two parts, concluding that 'una pars huius libelli ad officium vel usum chori, altera ad usum altaris spectat.'[11]

But other scholars have not expressed such confidence. Père Gy declined to list SUP in the body of his important inventory of collectars and collectar fragments before the twelfth century, relegating it instead to a summary description in a footnote.[12] K. Gamber also appeared uncertain. Although he once considered the first part of SUP to be 'das älteste Kollektar mit rein gregorianischen Formeln', by 1968 in his second edition of CLLA, he questioned this thesis.[13] Finally, in the 1957 edition of SUP, P.D.A. Dold did not support fully the collectar proposal, but concluded that, although 'ein grosses Rätsel', SUP most nearly resembled an Ergänzungsdarbeitung or selections from a liturgical book(s) used to supplement a sacramentary.[14] A more definitive statement, however, requires that SUP be placed in context with other early liturgical books.

The uncertainty over the nature of SUP raises the question of genre: if the whole of SUP is a collectar, then it ought to display some characteristics of this particular type of liturgical book. The second part does not. Unlike a collectar, it contains a large proportion of prayers designed specifically for the mass. Prayers 3.1 - 7.2 include a series of Gregorian prayers, including the 'collecta', 'super oblata' and 'ad complendum', which at this early date were exclusively the domain of the mass books.[15] Groups 3 - 6 represent the proper prayers for the mass from feria iv and v in the first week of Lent, the third Sunday in Lent, feria iii in that week, and Palm Sunday. Groups 7 and 8 are in fact complete mass sets for Sabbato sancto in nocte and Dominica Paschae, in which the 'praefatio', 'communicantes', 'Hanc igitur', and 'ad complendum' prayers are used here for both masses, written out fully only for the first, in Sabbato Sancto.

Similar objections can be raised, though less convincingly, for the Advent/Nativity group in SUP. Collects 1.4-1.6 follow precisely the GrH for aliae orationes Adventu, as do collects 2.1-2.8 for aliae orationes Natale. [16] However, although the aliae orationes are indeed a potential repository for collectars, their presence here by no means guarantees the classification of part one as such. This can be demonstrated by the correspondences which the SUP prayers do or do not have with the acknowledged early collectars. It is unfortunate that no Advent/Nativity provisions survive from the fragmentary state of the earliest collectars which would have been near-contemporaries of SUP, i.e., the St. Gallen Ms. 349, pp.5-36 [=FrS], Karlsruhe, Landesbibliothek Ms. Frgm. Augiense 22 [=FrR], and Trier,

Stadbibliothek, Ms. 1245/597, ff.129v-138v [=FrP]. The earliest surviving evidence comes from Vienna, Österreichisches Nationalbibliothek, Ms. Cod. Vindob. ser. nova 2762, commonly known as the Baturich Collectar and Pontifical [=Bt], whose provisions for Nativity still remain intact: the vigil (FrB 1-3), the night mass (FrB 4-5), the day mass (FrB 6-18). While it is true that FrB contains the same series of Nativity collects as SUP, corresponding to SUP 2.1 - 2.8 (::FrB 10-17::GrH 54-61), this series has not been set out as an isolated group in FrB but occurs within a larger set of prayers marked with the general rubric: 'Item orationes de Natali Domini' (FrB 6-18). By contrast, SUP 2.1 - 2.8 is clearly designated with the sacramentary rubric 'De Natale Dni.' The FrB provisions for Advent have not survived. But a second early ninth century collectar, the Verona, Capitolare, Ms. Cod. CVI [=OP], acknowledged as the first complete collectar, provides a large group of prayers for orationes de Aduentu[m] Domini (OP 102-114). But only part of the sequence in SUP occurs embedded within this general group (SUP 1.4-1.6::OP 102-103,105). It is obvious that for whatever use the SUP extractions were made, they heavily depended on the divisions in and sequential order of the sacramentary.

A comparison of SUP with the collectars of the tenth century and later is not very productive as it is apparent that these later collectars, e.g., the 'Durham Ritual' (Durham Cathedral Library A.IV.19 [=DC]) and the Leofric Collectar (BL, Harl.2961 [=Lf]) were much more flexible with their material. For example, only one DC collect can be traced to the Lenten prayers in SUP (DC 100.11::SUP 3.1); one to the Sabbato Sancto group (DC 151.14::SUP 6.1); and two --

possibly three -- to Dom. Paschae. [17] No DC collects correspond to SUP's Advent prayers, while only one can be traced to SUP's Nativity prayer (DC 12.2::SUP 2.5, used in the DC for Epiphany). The Advent provisions in DC are missing.

Alternatively, the Leofric Collectar makes a far greater use of these same aliae orationes. Of those represented in SUP, the Lf uses collects 1.1 - 1.6 at specified offices on the first three Sundays in Advent; collects 2.1 - 2.3 for Nativity; collect 2.4 for Sext on Epiphany; and collects 2.6 - 2.8 for the offices on Octave Sunday. Only SUP 2.5 finds no correspondence in the Leofric. But in the case of SUP part two, the Leofric uses only one of the three or more mass prayers offered in SUP. [18]

The aliae orationes in SUP part one offer little evidence, on its own, to distinguish it as a collectar or as a sacramentary. Certainly, the tenth-century collectars have not relied so heavily on the aliae orationes; but the incomplete collections in FrS and FrR indicate that this sort of dependence was not unknown at the turn of the ninth century.

The most grievous criticism against designating SUP part one as a collectar involves the codicology of the fragment. By means of a masterful piece of detective work, Dold has succeeded in piecing together the sequence of folios of the original book from which SUP 1.1 - 8.8 derived. It is still visible that the link between SUP part one and SUP part two occurred on the same page, what is now numbered

as CLM 6333, f.105v. The end of prayer 2.8 for the aliae orationes in Nativity finishes on the top of f.105v, and the beginning of the mass prayers for feria iv post Dom. I in Quad follow thereafter. Hence, no textual break occurs between what is acknowledged to be extractions for the mass (SUP part two, 3.1 - 8.8) and the puzzling prayers from SUP part one. From a codicological standpoint, one would have to conclude that the Nativity and Advent collects must have been intended for the Mass, as were their counterparts on the same folio.

As a preliminary exercise, it remains to say only that greater caution should be exercised before designating SUP part one a collectar. Considerable attention must be given to the close correspondence it bears to the Hadrianum sacramentary. It is also inextricably linked to part two, the section which demonstrates, even more than part one, that it may have provided supplemental prayers for the mass. In fact, it would not be far wrong to assume that the SUP extractions were intended to supplement the needs of a small parish church in the vicinity of Benediktbeuern during the seasons of heaviest liturgical obligation -- a 'small' church, because SUP dispenses with 'unnecessary' rubrics for Lent and Easter, and with a 'superfluous' mass-set for Easter day. This personalized character, plus the fact that its large folio size and its economic, tight script made it difficult to read, must have contributed to its early use as a palimpsest shortly after the primary text had been written.



### 3.b) St. Gallen 349: the earliest collectar fragment

St.Gallen Ms.349, pp.5-36 [=FrS] is a fragment of thirty-four pages containing collects for the major feasts of the liturgical year, from the last two vesper collects on Easter day to the collects for Matins and Vespers on the feast day of the apostles Peter and Paul. Originally assumed to have been an excarpsus for the Mass, scholars have recently established that the two quires contain collects to be read at Matins and Vespers, and are therefore the earliest surviving fragment containing collects that were compiled or 'extracted' specifically for the offices.[20] Compiled in the second half of the eighth century at St.Gallen, it is so closely related to the slightly later Gelasian sacramentary St.Gallen Ms.348 as to suggest that FrS represents a very early attempt at the St.Gallen monastery to compile an office book of collects, and that this was accomplished by the simple technique of extracting certain collects that had accrued to the basic set of mass prayers for the major liturgical feasts in a sacramentary.

FrS's relation to other collectars such as the Durham Collectar is therefore negligible since it is evident that it depends entirely on the arrangement and provisions of an eighth-century Gelasian sacramentary which apparently was used as the exemplar for St. Gallen 348 [=GeS]. FrS represents the best surviving example of the 'pure collectar', in this case, a collectar excarpsus, or extracts from the sacramentary for use in the choir.[21] The fragment presents a unique opportunity to assess how and for what reasons an eighth-century

ecclesiastic compiled a collectar, as opposed to the methods and aims which Stephen of Liège had described in the tenth century. The evidence from FrS should contribute towards an historical definition and understanding of a 'collectar'.

The fragment 'begins' incompletely with three prayers which correspond to the last three of the four collects for Vespers on Easter day in GeS (FrS 1-3::GeS 575-7). In the first complete provision in FrS, the day after Easter (feria ii), the compiler has been careful to extract only the final group of three collects from Vespers retaining the rubrics ad uesperum, ad fontes and ad sanctam andream (FrS 4-6::GeS 584,586,585). But in this instance, FrS does not invert the order of these collects as does GeS. GeS is unique among Gelasian witnesses to do so. But as Heiming has noted, this should not be interpreted as a critical variant between the two St-Gallen manuscripts, as a third c.800 manuscript from St. Gallen, sacramentary fragment St. Gallen Ms. 350, has also presented them in the order of FrS.[22] FrS continues to follow the same pattern for providing collects from the vesper prayers of the sacramentary throughout Easter week, with the ferial day and Vespers noted in each rubric.[23]

This elaboration over the prayers for Vespers was not a liturgical practice unique to ninth-century St. Gallen. By the mid-tenth century, Aethelwold included an explanation of the use of the three vesper collects throughout Easter week in his Regularis Concordia. [24] Vespers on Easter day and in the following week were

made more elaborate with the addition of a sequence (no doubt the famous Carolingian 'Victimae paschali laudes immolent' which we still sing today) following the Alleluia and verse, and by a procession to the font after reciting the Magnificat and the traditional vesper collect, hence the rubric ad uesperum. The monks were to chant the psalm 'Laudate pueri dominum' with antiphon and collect while they processed to the font ('eatur ad fontes'), hence the rubric ad fontes. Then they were to return ('reuertentes chorum uel oratorium quod eis competens uidebitur adeant'), chanting the psalm 'In exitu israel' with a second antiphon and collect, hence the rubric ad sanctam andream, a vestige of the Roman liturgy where they were returning to the chapel dedicated to St. Andrew.

It is evident that for Easter week, FrS has extracted the collects from the sacramentary which pertained specifically to the vesper office and to the prayers associated with the procession. As GeS provided only vesper collects, so FrS only obtained vesper collects. If the purpose of FrS was to provide collects for every office of that day, it might be considered insufficient. But the group of collects entitled aliae orationes paschales (FrS 21-49) would have gone a long way towards satisfying this need. These prayers consist of a group of unspecified collects (i.e., aliae orationes) which have traditionally crept into the mass-corpus of the sacramentary, and which therefore come to play an essential role in the collectar. From these prayers, the ecclesiastic could select collects ad libitum for the celebrations of other office hours during Paschaltide. This group in FrS is lifted directly from its sacramentary source. Heiming has convincingly shown that this series

corresponds very closely to GeS with the single exception of GeS 655 which FrS lacks.[25] FrS follows GeS in arranging the prayer 'Adesto qs dne tuae familiae' (FrS 41) before 'Da misericors ds ut in resurrectione' (FrS 42) as against all other eighth-century Gelasians, which interchange them following the Old Gelasian [=GeV]. Also, only GeS and FrS lack the Old Gelasian collect 'Concede misericors ds ut et deuotus' (GeV 536). These must be considered idiosyncracies which have been carefully preserved in the St-Gallen scriptorium in the few years either side of 800.[26]

After Paschaltide, FrS provides for only the major feast days in the temporal and sanctoral year until the fragment ends incompletely with the feast day of Peter and Paul on 29 June. The major feasts are: the Annunciation of the BVM, Laetania Maior, Ascension, Pentecost, St. John the Baptist, and the vigil and feast day of Peter and Paul. The compiler of FrS has been careful to extract only the aliae orationes from the respective mass set in the sacramentary. Hence they occur in FrS only because they had occurred first in its sacramentary source. Hypothetically, had its source not provided them, as in the case of the Rheinau Sacramentary,[27] where the 'Item alias orationes' rubric had been deliberately obliterated after the postcommunione collect for the Annunciation of the BVM, this feast would have been missing in the collectar, unless of course the compiler had chosen to consult other sources; but no evidence exists in FrS to show that he did so.

Further, where there is a liturgical elaboration, as in Rogationtide when a procession precedes the Mass, the compiler of FrS has been careful to select the five processional prayers with their 'stational rubrics' which are recited at each station on approaching the altar,[28] and which occur in the sacramentary before the mass-set. FrS also contains the single collect with the rubric alia oracio in atrio which is recited after the mass while the procession still remains in the choir (FrS 58::GeS 722). Even under the heavy demands which this liturgical season produces, the FrS compiler has rejected the collect for the mass of that day (GeS 719), as usual.

The basic prayers of the mass set are never included in this manuscript (including the collect and post-communion), and their absence underlines the implication that no overlapping between mass and office prayers was intended. The compiler emphasized the purpose which his book was to fulfil by adding to the end of every rubric, the phrase 'ad matutinos siue ad uesperum' (sic). This is an important feature of the early 'pure collectar' which distinguishes it from such later ones as the 'Durham Collectar' in which such mass prayers as the collecta as well as the super populum and postcommunione are included. By the tenth century, the collecta is a common formula in the collectar-book. But here in the later years of the eighth century, the compiler of FrS was intent on extracting only the 'aliae orationes' added to the traditional mass sets in the sacramentary so that they might serve a specific function in a book devoted to prayers recited for Matins and Vespers.

The differences between this eighth-century fragment from St. Gallen and the later collectars such as the 'Durham Collectar' accentuate the historical fact that the collectars were undergoing important developments. It is important here to pinpoint in which areas this was happening. Certain changes were affecting the range of prayers which a collectar-extraction may contain, and the range of source material (e.g., the number of sacramentaries) on which it may have relied. In the case of FrS, this was only one.

The range of prayers available for use in the offices was far more extensive in the tenth century. For example, the DC was no longer limited to the aliae orationes situated on the periphery of the mass set proper. The combined vigil and nativity provisions for St. John the Baptist in the DC take the first two collects (DC 358 and 359) from the mass collectae: one from the vigil mass on the day before the feast (DC 358::GrH 568=cl), and the second from the night mass for the feast day (DC 359::GrH 571=cl). The feast of St. Peter also includes two formulae which serve as collects in the vigil masses for St. Peter in the Gelasian and Gregorian traditions, respectively (DC 373.61::GeS 952=cl; DC 375.61::GrH 589=cl). While FrS took exclusively from the aliae orationes, DC drew from other mass prayers as well, as these were becoming as attractive in the offices as the aliae had been centuries before.

The variations in collectar texts may also have been affected by the different ways in which each collectar depended on its source. FrS has strictly adhered to a single sacramentary exemplar, both in



arrangement and in provisions. By contrast, the DC has been more flexible -- or perhaps less careful -- in following the traditional sacramentary structure. The Gregorian collect and the Gelasian collect for the vigil of St. Peter has made this very obvious. One other difference is dramatically demonstrated by the arrangement of the prayers for '*aliae orationes paschales*'. It has been shown that FrS 21-49 accord systematically with the same provisions in GeS 638-664. But the corresponding sequence in DC (especially DC 214-235) is very distinctive and will be discussed more fully in Chapter Four. Of relevance here is the fact that the prayers in DC corresponding to the aliae orationes of the sacramentary may not have been set apart at all, but were included within a general group of Paschaltide collects, although a missing folio after f.15 makes this impossible to verify.[29] The sequence of prayers in the DC have followed the Hadrianum corpus in general but with two significant departures. It has introduced a group of four collects unique to the Gelasian tradition in the midst of the Hadrianum sequence (DC 225-228::GeS 653, 651, 659, 662), and has attempted to conclude the entire section with a medley of parts from either tradition: three prayers return to the very beginning of the Gregorian sequence (DC 229-231::GrH 442,443, 446); one is taken from the Gelasian (DC 232::GeS 660); and the last is a very ancient benediction which was preserved by incorporating it into the supplemented Hadrianum and the eighth-century Gelasians (DC 235::GrTc 4260::GeS 1570).



Although the compiler of the DC has been more eclectic and flexible than that of FrS, he has not constructed a book that is any easier to use. An ecclesiastic could not have found it easy to wade through the large group of forty-one collects for Paschaltide in the DC for the one he needed, unless he could remember the sequence from past years. Moreover, the nineteen collects in the DC which precede the aliae orationes group are not even rubricated, unlike the clearly rubricated collects for Paschaltide in the FrS collectar. Although limited to a single sacramentary, FrS has gained the advantage at least of gleaning the directional aids of its parent.

3.c) Augiense Frgm.22: an early Reichenau collectar

Karlsruhe Landesbibliothek, Frgm Augiense 22 [=FrR], a manuscript fragment of forty-six folios, consists of office prayers for the temporal and sanctoral feasts on thirty-eight and a half of its folios. Prayers and benedictions for various occasions fill the last seven and a half folios. Although A. Holder dated it to the eighth century, Lowe did not include it in CLA, and both Gamber and Pere Gy attributed the fragment to 800 or very soon thereafter.[30]

The tattered remnants of FrR saw considerable use at Reichenau, and at least the additional material on ff.38v-46v was probably copied there as is evident from the variant readings shared between FrR and

the Reichenau sacramentaries.[31] In later centuries, liturgical formulae were added to empty spaces on the leaves. An eleventh-century hand added three prayers to commemorate the Vigil of the Ascension (FrR 78-80) which the scribe copied onto the near-empty recto side of f.13, immediately preceding the Ascension prayers which are written in the original hand. A tenth-century hand added a prayer to St. Denis, 'Ds qui hodierna die beatum dionisium' (FrR 267), randomly inserted between the benedictions 'ad poscendam serenitatem' (FrR 266) and 'benedictio monachorum' (FrR 268) on f.44r. These additions indicate that although compiled at an early date, FrR continued to be used as a liturgical book for the offices for some two hundred years.

FrR is the earliest example of a collectar to contain various prayers and benedictions for various occasions in addition to the prayers for the temporal/sanctoral feasts (the major part of the text). It cannot be considered as a 'pure collectar' in the same sense of FrS. It has incorporated a very important development which is popularized later by Stephen of Liège. Hence, the claim of many liturgical historians that Stephen's Liber capitularis is the first example of a book of this scope is unfounded. In the preface to his Liber capitularis, written c.910, Stephen noted that after the office collects for the sanctoral and temporal feasts, 'diuersorum quoque plura anime [sic] sequuntur utilia, que et ipsa sua obtinent loca'. [32] But this same format was utilized by the Reichenau scribes of FrR some one hundred years earlier.

The prayers of the first thirty-eight folios are notable for their heavy dependence on a sacramentary parent. From the fragment of the first extant prayer, for the Purification of the BVM (FrR 1), until the last sanctoral feast, for St. Lucy (FrR 165), the prayers strictly follow the order of the Gregorian sacramentary. Holder, Gamber and Gy have noted that the sequence during Lent indicates a pre-Hadrianum source. Their conclusion depends primarily on the fact that FrR consistently omitted feria v in Lent. But the evidence is not sufficient in itself to explain the handful of departures which FrR has made from the Paduan, the most likely pre-Hadrianum source cited by these liturgists.[33] Other collectars such as the Durham Collectar make it evident that prayers from feria v in Lent were not ordinarily preserved, even though one of the acknowledged sources had been the Hadrianum.

The liturgical techniques employed for this compilation are of some interest. F.J. Mone offered the only account of some length which is worthwhile to examine here. Although he was mistaken in his conclusion that 'es also zum Gebrauche des Gottesdienstes gemacht wurde...',[34] he made the important observation that the prayers corresponded in general to the first prayer (the 'collect') and to the last prayers (the aliae, or 'extra-mass' collects) of the mass-set. On Easter day, for example, the fragment resumes after a lacuna with the last three vesper collects (FrR 24-27), each identified here with the rubric alia, instead of with the rubrics ad s. iohannem, ad fontes, and ad s. andream as preserved in the St. Gallen collectar, FrS. For feria ii in Easter week, FrR has included the collecta (FrR 28) from the mass, followed once again by the three vesper collects.

The same pattern has been followed for feriae iii - v. Since the Gregorian provided only two vesper collects for Friday and Saturday, FrR has added a fourth prayer to the collect and two vesper prayers on feria vi; but no additions were made to the collect and two vesper prayers on the Saturday.[35]

Mone's original thesis, that FrR served as a 'Messbuchlein', forced him to conclude, erroneously, that a Frankish scribe compiled FrR with the intention to acquire extra prayers for his essentially Gallican liturgy. The scribe therefore had to lift the introductory and concluding prayers from a Gregorian source and transpose them onto the 'internal prayers' of his original Gallican sacramentary.[36] But his argument does not take into account the tenth- and eleventh-century additions which show that the book was used for a long time without combining it with another book. Further, the deliberate inclusion of the special prayers for Matins and Vespers indicates that FrR was intended to function in the office, and not in the Mass.[37]

The regular appearance of the collect, which was probably the main cause of Mone's misdirected conclusions, is a major advance from the limited scope of the St. Gallen collectar, FrS. The collecta forms an important part of the collection, and continues to do so in the later collectars. Another 'new' feature is the inclusion of the archaic super populum prayer wherever it had survived in the sacramentary, particularly in the provisions for Lent and Passiontide. In FrR, the prayers for 'hebdomeda II' in Quadragesima include two

prayers which correspond to the collect and 'super populum' in the Gregorian sacramentary.[38] This pattern is repeated for the Saturday in week four, and again for the ferial days in Passionweek. Confronted with the 'regular' occurrence of the collect and super populum prayers in FrR, E. Adda's original thesis regarding the 'pure collectar', that its prayers were not intended to overlap the nexus of prayers from the mass-set but should be limited to the alia orationes, and that it originated from cumbersome Gelasian sacramentaries, has received some serious criticisms. FrR presents exceptions to both arguments. It is a very early collectar in which two important prayers of the mass-set were consistently included in the compilation; and it depended very heavily on a well-ordered Gregorian for its primary source. Moreover, these differences have occurred in a book which pre-dates Adda's primary witness, OP, by several years. They present a major obstacle towards attributing the OP so readily to Reichenau as Adda has done since another Reichenau collectar has been compiled or supplemented nearly contemporaneously, with very different constructional motives in mind.[39]

The final seven and a half folios are the earliest witness of prayers for various occasions in a collectar. Traditionally an appendix to the Gregorian sacramentary, these prayers had not proved so crucial to extract as had the collects from the temporal and sanctoral feasts. It must have been fairly easy to consult the final folios of the sacramentary for the miscellaneous prayers and the benedictions. But in compiling FrR, the Reichenau scribes were obliged to append certain ones to satisfy particular needs arising from the introduction of a secular book into a monastic community.

These efforts resulted in a sort of supplement to the pure collectar portion of FrR. On account of the hybrid-nature of these additions, which no longer follow the strict order of the Gregorian, it is arguable that the scribes had been searching through their books, and through borrowed books, to find these particular formulae.

Listed below are the thirty-eight benedictions and prayers, written by a variety of contemporaneous hands on ff.38v-46v. These follow the vespertinales seu matutinales prayers (FrR 216-40). The Alcuinian compositions are given special notice in the list that follows:[40]

FrR	Formulae	Hand
241-2	two prayers for the 'hebdomadarius'	same hand as main text
243-6	4 prayers for BVM (4th is erased)	different hand
247-8	anniversary of church dedication prayers for the sick and the dead	similar to main text
249	-'in domo infirmorum'	different hand
250	-['in agenda mortuorum']	different hand
251-2	-['pro defunoto']	different hand
253-4	church dedication	different hand
255-6	'de sancta cruce' (Alcuin)	different hand
257	'in aduentu fratrum superuenientium'	different hand
258	repetition of FrR 256	same hand as FrR 257
259-60	2 prayers for BVM (Alcuin)	different hand
261-3	'pro pluuiis postulanda'	different hand
264-5	'quando multum pluit'	same hand as FrR 261-3
266	['ad poscendam serenitatem']	different hand
267	one prayer for St. Denis	s.x hand



268	'benedictio monachorum'	different hand
269-72	'in agenda mortuorum'	same hand as FrR 268
273-4	['per spiritum sanctum postulanda']	
	(Alcuin)	different hand
275-6	['in die depositionis defuncti']	different hand
277a-d	four versicles for above formulae	same as FrR 275-6
278-80	3 collects for the Ascension	different hand

The majority of the hands are contemporaneous with the main hand of the text, indicating that the material was added within the first few years of use.[41] The additions demonstrate also that the sacramentary source used for the main text was largely insufficient to meet the needs of the Reichenau community. No particularly monastic prayer occurs until FrR 268 (f.44v), where the Benedictio monachorum may well be the most revealing indicator of the collector's new use at the Reichenau monastery. This formula, as well as those for the hebdomadary (FrR 241-242) and for the arrival of visiting brothers (FrR 257), have been added for the same reasons which prompted the compilation of the 'Hucusque' SUPplement to the Hadrianum. Perhaps, as Stephen did some hundred years later, these scribes compiled their supplement 'campos bibliothecae percurrentes.' It is certain that a copy(ies) of the Hadrianum and the supplemented-Hadrianum served for this purpose. For instance, among the additional material are five formulae taken from the Alcuin masses as identified by Deshusses in volume 2 of his Sacramentaire Grégorien [=D] and by Barré and Deshusses in their combined article on the Alcuin Missal [=B and D].[42] These are: 'de sancta cruce' (D, set no. 9; B and D, no.



4); 'de s. maria' (D, set no. 10; B and D, no. 5), 'in agenda mortuorum' (D, set no. 264), 'missa pro defunctis' (D, set no. 223), and 'per spiritum sanctum postulanda' (D, set no. 109; B and D, no. 11). Clearly, not a part of any pre-Hadrianum text, this Alcuinian material imposes grave doubts on the earlier assumptions that this Reichenau collectar was solely compiled from a pre-Hadrianum source.

Certain variant readings in the supplemental material, and even entire prayers, are unique to the later Gregorian witnesses. The variant readings in FrR 271 and 272 from 'in agenda mortuorum' follow Gregorian witnesses C and G in Deshusses's apparatus for Sacramentaire Grégorien (GrTe 2862 and GrTe 2866, respectively). FrR 273 and 274 for 'per spiritum...postulandum' follow C and D (GrTe 2325 and GrTe 2329, respectively). FrR 275 for 'die depositionis defuncti' follows B2 (GrTe 2888). FrR 276 occurs only in C1 and C2 (GrTe 2894) in lieu of the older post-communion, 'Omnipotens s. ds collocare'. FrR 247 and 248 for the anniversary of a basilica occur only in D (GrTe 4172 and GrTe 4175, respectively). FrR 251 and 252, for the anniversary of the departed, occur only in B, C1, D, and G (GrTe 2900 and GrTe 2899, respectively). According to Deshusses, manuscripts B, C1, D, and G form a 'groupe Reichenau - Saint-Gall, avec les manuscrits italiens de Vérone et de Modène qui en dependent fortement (=manuscrits 'Hadrianum')'. [43] But FrR also contains a group of formulae which are intimately related to the Corbie - Saint-Amand group of the supplemented Hadrianum. [44] FrR 241 and 242 for the hebdomadary occur only in T3 and V2; and FrR 268, the famous benedictio monachorum occurs only in T1 and T5.

Hence, in light of these collations, made possible by the most recent editions of the Gregorian sacramentary, the claims made by liturgists some twenty years ago must be put aside. Even if the original thesis for a pre-Hadrianic exemplar of FrR is correct, this by no means describes the full extent of its provisions. In fact, based on the several correspondences which the supplemental material in FrR shares with the Reichenau--St.Gallen group, and the virtual absence of any similarly identifiable traits in the original part of the collectar, it is arguable that FrR was written elsewhere and was brought to Reichenau at the turn of the century where the Alcuinian material was added by c.810.[45] If this is so, then it implies that by the early decades of the ninth century, the Reichenau scriptorium had the resources from which to compile, or to supplement, collectars from the most up-dated versions of the supplemented Hadrianum.[46]

3.d) Abbot Aelfwine's liturgical book and the DC:

a comparison of the Commune Sanctorum

The Durham Collectar [=DC] shares a large proportion of its collects and chapters for the Commune Sanctorum with a certain early eleventh century liturgical 'commonplace' book from New Minster, Winchester, B.L. Cotton Titus D.xxvi and xxvii [=Hy].[47] Liturgical formulae which they have in common set DC and Hy apart from the two later Anglo-Saxon collectars, the Leofric Collectar and the Wulfstan Portiforium, and so present a slightly more complex picture of the liturgical office in Anglo-Saxon England.

Cotton Titus D.xxvi and xxvii, originally a single book now bound in two separately foliated manuscripts -- the order of which should perhaps be reversed[48] -- are miniature, pocket-sized manuscripts (130 x 95 mm; c.97 x 60 mm written space). Their carefully written pages high-lighted with coloured rubrics contain a variety of devotional and 'scientific' material in addition to the liturgical portions which will concern us here. Preceding the Commune Sanctorum on f.20 of D.xxvi are prophetic and astronomical lore for calculating days on which blood-letting is forbidden (the Dies Aegyptiaci) and for determining character personalities. While these are mostly in Latin, four items in Anglo-Saxon are added to blank spaces by a hand belonging to the first part of the eleventh century: a code of rules for guidance in (private?) devotions (f. 2), a rubric introducing a Latin formula for the priest to say as he washes his hands and eyes before a service (f. 16v), and a recipe for boils(!) beginning on the

same page and continuing on f.17. A fourth item, a charter of spiritual confraternity in Anglo-Saxon, is added by the same hand on two previously blank pages (ff. 17v-18r; f.18v is still blank) which immediately precede the Commons[49].

The Commons form the first section of a group of liturgical or 'collectar' material which takes up a quarter of the manuscript (ff. 20-50v) in D.xxvi, and which contain the most necessary liturgical formulae for an officiating priest: the Commune Sanctorum; chapters (29) for cotidianis diebus; a collect for each of the twenty-three Sundays after Pentecost; a collect for each of the five Sundays in Advent; collects (34) for cotidianis pro peccatis; matutinales collects (15); vespertinales collects (8); one collect each for the three 'little hours'[50]; and a series of suffrages, probably the 'Gallican capitella'. This concludes the liturgical portion of D.xxvi, the final thirty folios of which contain a litany and a long series of devotional private prayers.[51]

In Titus D.xxvii, the two obviously liturgical portions are the Offices of the Cross (ff. 66-73v) and the three votive offices for the Holy Trinity, the Holy Cross and the BVM (ff. 76-85).[52] Although controversial, it would seem that they anticipate the form of the fully-developed votive office for Vespers, as all three include the Magnificat, among other potential vesper material; and, in the office for the BVM, the chapter and two of the three collects correspond to certain of the prayers associated with the marial feasts in the Durham Collectar. If Gneuss is right in arguing that the BVM

office in Titus is in fact a very early attempt to construct a special office for the Virgin Mary based on the normal vesper office of the day, it would anticipate by some thirty years the earliest complete Horae de Beata Maria Virgine in the eleventh century.[53] The primitive form of the BVM office, as represented in Titus D.xxvii, would account for the inconsistency among the psalms, and the presence of the four private prayers at the end, where no attempt has been made to formalize them within the office itself and to which the five praeces sancte seem to be arbitrarily tacked on. That the chapter and collects of the BVM office agree with the provisions for the BVM in the 'Durham Collectar' (except 'Auerte quesumus domine iram tuam', DC 280.19, used for pro peccatis,) suggests that collectars may have played a far greater role, if only as ideal reference books, in the development of special office hours than has been realized. In any case, Titus D.xxvii is apparently the earliest witness in England to attribute 'Ueni creator spiritus', 'Uexilla regis' and 'Ave maris stella' specifically to these offices, respectively, instead of to the various temporal seasons where they are found in the A.IV.19 additions and prescribed in Aelfric's 'Letter to the Monks of Eynsham'.[54]

The Offices of the Cross and the votive offices occupy only 18 of the 93 folios.[55] The greater part of D.xxvii contains a calendar, almanac tables some of which are drawn from Bede, Easter computations, lunar prognostics, Aelfric's Anglo-Saxon version of Bede's De temporibus, a chart showing the number of days redemption gained for singing the Mass, the Passion according to St.John, and another handful of Anglo-Saxon items added to blank spaces a few years later.[56]

Titus D.xxvi and xxvii were written for Aelfwine, abbot of New Minster, Winchester, while he was still monachus aequae decanus, as the distich on f.13v of D.xxvii indicates, which establishes a date of ?1012/1023 -1035.[57] Although described as 'more a personal manual of devotions than an official service-book',[58] the Commune Sanctorum plus the collectar material on the folios following in D.xxvi and the Offices of the Cross and the three votive offices in D.xxvii are given a special significance. Each of the three sections is heralded by a full-page miniature in line and color: a drawing of St. Peter (D.xxvi, f.19v) precedes the Commune Sanctorum; Christ on the Cross (D.xxvii, f.65v) precedes the Offices of the Cross; and the Holy Trinity (D.xxvii, f.75v), unusual for its depiction of the 'Quinity', introduces the three votive offices, beginning in fact with the Holy Trinity office.[59] Each miniature is drawn on the verso of the second leaf of a single bifolium, which strongly suggests that Aelfwine had them specially commissioned and inserted after his book was completed.[60] His regard for these liturgical texts must have been very high, and the productions of his chosen artists place their work in the mainstream of the tenth and eleventh century 'Winchester drawing school', especially in their voguish similarity to the Reims-styled Utrecht Psalter and to the famous Gallican Psalter, Harley 2904 of Winchester, s.x.ex.[61] Surely this artistic effort would not have been expended at this early date on a collection not considered of some significance.



The liturgical texts in Titus D.xxvi-xxvii have received little attention among liturgists although in Gneuss's crucial study of the development of the hymnal in England, he noted the collectar material in D.xxvi and tentatively suggested that it showed a likeness to two other Anglo-Saxon collectars: the Wulfstan Portiforium and the 'Durham Collectar'. [62] Hughes's collation of a selection of English monastic breviaries (predominately of the thirteenth century) has seemingly demonstrated a close link between the Wulfstan manuscript and the thirteenth-century Hyde Abbey Breviary (Mss. Bodl. Rawlinson Liturg. e. 1\*, and Gough Liturg. 8), both of which stand apart from the other witnesses. [63] This affinity suggests that the Portiforium and the Breviary may well echo the monastic liturgy at Winchester in pre-Conquest England. [64]

But if this is so, the provisions for the Commune Sanctorum in Titus D.xxvi exhibit quite another tradition. It shares only six of its twenty-five chapters with the Portiforium, while another four chapters in D.xxvi occur in the latter but not for the same Common; and the Titus manuscript shares eighteen of its forty-nine collects with the Portiforium. In his evaluation of chapters and collects, Hughes observed rightly that as a general rule, the chapters were distributed with a greater standardization and with a smaller percentage of variation, and therefore the deviants from the chapters were the more indicative of relationships among liturgical books. [65] But this is precisely where Titus D.xxvi and the Wulfstan manuscript do not share a high percentage of material. Further, in the arrangement of the Commons, the Portiforium does not separate its provision for the apostles into the 'individual' and the 'many'



apostles as does Titus D.xxvi; and it concludes with the dedication of a church, which the Titus lacks. If one remembers the summary chapters which Stephen of Liege annotated in his prefatory letter (c. 903-16) to Bishop Robert of Metz, it is evident that the Portiforium is following Stephen's arrangement for the Commons, which begins with de apostolis and concludes with de dedicatione, while the New Minster manuscript is apparently following another pattern.[66] Previously unacknowledged by scholars, Titus D.xxvi now presents the liturgical historian with a different set of pre-Conquest Office material that has been compiled and rather elaborately decorated at Winchester. Because of the resemblance its Commons carries to the original nucleus of the Durham Collectar as will be demonstrated, Titus D.xxvi places in serious question the type of liturgy observed at New Minster and the assumption that this was a standard observance of the church in tenth-century England.

The exemplar which Aelfwine followed for his Commune Sanctorum appears to adhere closely to the group surviving in the DC; but since the DC is missing the folios for the Commons of the virgins and for the remainder of the Commons until its provisions for Holy Cross, the evidence is far from complete.[67] Nonetheless, of the Commons they do share, both books have arranged them in a similar fashion: apostle - many apostles; martyr - many martyrs; confessor - many confessors. On two occasions, Titus D.xxvi has retained the antiquated Uigilia in its rubrics for the Common of an Apostle and of a Martyr, which the DC scribe has copied in both the 'individual' and the 'many' Commons for apostles and martyrs (cf., DC rubrics nn.113-.114; nn.118-.119 in Appendix I.)

As regards the formulae, Titus D.xxvi shares nineteen of its twenty-one chapters with the DC, while another chapter occurs in the Sanctoral of the DC but not in the Commons; and twenty-six of the forty collects in Titus occur in the other, while another ten collects occur in the DC's Sanctoral.[68] Unquestionably, Titus D.xxvi and the Durham Collectar resemble each other in the general arrangement of their Commons; and they share a large proportion of both chapters and collects, which, in the face of Hughes's dismissal of the latter as 'widely variable,' makes this affinity all the more striking.

But the differences between the two are noteworthy. Titus D.xxvi lacks the DC's curious second rubric, Plurimorum Martirum (DC rubrics .126-.127) which occurs near the end of the Commons some way after its first provisions for many martyrs (DC 530-33.119 and 534-39.120). Nonetheless, Hy contains one of the DC collects from the second provision ('Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui in sanctorum' DC 570.127), for its own Common of Many Martyrs.[69] The Titus prayers for Many Martyrs includes nine collects, four of which agree with collects from the DC's first provision Plurimorum Martirum (DC 534, 536, 537, 539.120) as might be expected, and another three of which are found in the Collectar's Sanctoral. Only this one collect has been culled from the DC's second 'Plurimorum Martirum'.

The chapters and collects of this particular second provision in the DC have also been shuffled in the two later English collectars in a somewhat similar fashion as in D.xxvi, if not more generously. Four of the DC's six chapters (DC 564-566, 569.126) appear in either or

both the Leofric Collectar and the Wulfstan Portiforium for their Common of Many Confessors; and four of the Collectar's five remaining collects (DC 570-572, 574.127) appear either in Many Martyrs or in Many Confessors of Lf or Wp.[70] But none of the English witnesses just cited contain this provision in its entirety.

The nearest English source with a similar continental relationship to the DC is the original portion of the Leofric Missal [=LMa], dated to the beginning of the tenth century. Here the Commune Sanctorum concludes with the same In Natale Plurimorum 'Sanctorum Communiter' (my quotations).[71] This contains four prayers which appear in the same order as they do in the DC's second provision for 'Plurimorum Martirum': collecta 'Praesta domine quaesumus ut sicut' (LMa 174::DC 571.127); alia 'Adesto domine populo tuo' (LMa 174::DC 572.127); ad complendum 'Magnificantes domine clementiam tuam' (LMa 174::DC 573.127); and ad populum 'Da nobis quaesumus omnipotens deus in sanctorum' (LMa 174::DC 574.127).[72] The manuscript evidence suggests that continental material preserved more persistently in the Leofric Missal, and especially in the DC in the tenth century, is eventually re-allocated in certain English manuscripts of the eleventh.[73] But the eleventh-century books are not identical in their re-allocations. Titus D.xxvi has not depended on these older sources as liberally as has the Portiforium in this particular instance -- another example of the New Minster manuscript's divergence.

In another example of its independence, Abbot Aelfwine's book does not preserve the DC's second provision for the Common of a Confessor. In addition to an unusually large group of seven collects (DC rubric no.122),[74] the DC compiler has included, characteristically enough, two votive mass collects, 'Propitiare quaesumus domine nobis' (552.123) and 'Da aeternae consolationis pater' (553.123), under the rubric In Ecclesia Cuiuslibet Sc'i Martiris Siue Confessoris (f.43). The mass-set survives in a group of votive masses added to the Leofric Missal in the eleventh century, although here, the super populum (DC 553) does not occur.[75] Instructions in the Regularis Concordia and in Aelfric's Letter to the monks of Eynsham make this intrusion of votive mass formulae into an office collectar clear enough. During the Candlemas procession and the procession on Palm Sunday, the officiating priest was instructed to read a collect for the saint at the door of the church dedicated to him.[76] Nonetheless, although Titus D.xxvi (along with Wp and Lf) does not include this particular rubric in its Commons, it has in a unique instance preserved the DC's two votive collects, placing them instead in its 'Common of a Confessor', retaining the order in which they occur in the DC (DC 552.123::Hy f26v; DC 553.123::Hy f26v). The 'Common of a Confessor' in Titus contains six collects: these two votive collects, three from the DC's own provision for Unius Confessoris (DC 547, 548, 550.122) and one (the first in Titus) corresponding to the DC's collect for St. Silvester (DC 322.27::Hy f26v).

Obviously Titus D.xxvi could not have relied on a surviving set of the DC's Commune Sanctorum at New Minster. The evidence from the St. Silvester collect transference, the virtual disappearance of the DC's Common of Confessor Saints (DC sec. .126 and .127) and of the rubric In Ecclesia Cuiuslibet in Titus D.xxvi, strengthens this conclusion. And yet, the two votive collects shared exclusively between them indicate that if not an immediate source, the Durham Collectar most definitely figured as one of the mediate sources for the Commune Sanctorum in Titus D.xxvi.

This correspondence provides the first indication of the locality where the liturgical text in the Durham Collectar was circulating in tenth-century England. This is significant in that liturgical evidence is finally lending support, in specific instances, to the paleographical arguments concerning its provenance.[77] Yet it is highly unlikely that the DC was in use at Winchester per se, given the lack of any other contemporary manuscript evidence from this community, and given that, if anywhere, the supporting evidence in the earliest portion of the Leofric Missal, possibly in use at Glastonbury in the early decades of the tenth century, points towards that centre instead.[78]

Drawing on the evidence provided in the Titus manuscript itself, it appears as though Dean Aelfwine had compiled his liturgical 'commonplace book' from several books at hand in the New Minster scriptorium, much in the same way as Archbishop Wulfstan was compiling his 'personal' book from the Worcester resources at roughly the same

time.[79] Aelfwine drew from a variety of computus material, both from the 'old' auctores (Bede) and the 'new' authors such as Aelfric, who may still have been alive as abbot of Eynsham. He combined these with votive offices, miscellaneous orationes, leechcraft calculations, prognostications, and collects for the offices for only part of the liturgical year. On blank spaces he added the private prayer requisite for the priest to say before celebrating the liturgy and the less obviously required recipe against boils; and for his 'mini'-collectar, he chose chapters and collects from older books preserved at Winchester[80] and arranged them -- with an attention to order and clarity which I have seldom found in other contemporary witnesses -- so that he could easily refer to them in emergencies. The pocket-sized dimensions of the Titus manuscript strongly suggest that it was used as some kind of portable book which Aelfwine could have easily and quickly consulted in the course of a hectic day as dean of New Minster, Winchester. From this, I draw two tentative conclusions about Anglo-Saxon liturgical books. Confronted with the New Minster manuscript's divergence from the Portiforium (and for the sake of argument, from the DC), no 'standard' liturgical use was followed, at least not among the out-lying churches surrounding Winchester in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries.[81] Moreover, since the Commune Sanctorum in Aelfwine's book draws heavily on the DC, itself a non-monastic compilation, Anglo-Saxon ecclesiasts were not discriminating between the secular or monastic use among the books they were using for their own religious communities.



Notes to part (a)

1. B. Bischoff, Die Südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit: die Bayrischen Diozesen, 1 (1940; 3rd edn., 1974), 32, where he rejects categorically Munding's earlier attribution to Reichenau, in 'Königsbrief Karls d. Gr.', Texte-und-Arbeiten 1920, 63. Bischoff cites the studies of R.Bauerreis in Stud. u. Mitt. O.S.B. 57(1939), 160.

2. Of these texts, Lowe attributes only one, the 'Lib' fragment, to s.viii ex; the rest seem to have been written in the few short years between 800 and the year the palimpsest was made (s.ix in). E.A.Lowe, CLA ix(1959), no. 1277; P.D.A. Dold, 'Palimpsest-Studien II, Altertümliche Sakramentar-und Litanei-Fragmente in Cod. Lat. Monac. 6333', Texte-und-Arbeiten 48(1957), 7 [hereafter referred to as TuA]. (Dold's edition will hereafter be cited as TuA 48(1957). See also Bischoff Die Südostdeutschen, 33.

3. Catalogus Codicum Manu Scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis, t.III.3 (1873), 93-94. The capitula occur on ff.3-10: Jerome, chapters I-CXXIII, and Gennadius, chapters CXXIIII-CCXXVI; Bischoff, (1974), 32.

4. Dold, TuA 48(1957), 5-6; Bischoff, Die Südostdeutschen, 33.



5. CLM 6333 has received two editions in TuA: [a] E. Munding and A. Dold, TuA 15-18(1930), and [b] A. Dold, TuA 48(1957), to which further citations refer. There is also a fifth fragment, 'LIT', a two-folio fragment from a litany.

6. E. Bourque, Etude sur les sacramentaires romains, 2. ii (1958), p.24 nn.32, 33, and p. 348 n.4; Dold, TuA 48(1957), 10ff., 24, 26; K. Gamber, Sakramentartypen, in TuA 49/50(1958), 88-91; Gamber, CLLA (1963; 2nd edn., 1968), 331-333, where he categorizes them as representatives of pre-Hadrianum Gregorians.

7. see n.2 above; and see K.Gamber, CLLA (1968), no. 704.

8. I am grateful to Dr. Schneider at the Handschriften Lesesaal, of the Munich Staatsbibliothek, for giving me special permission to examine the manuscript on 14 August 1985, in addition to the readily available microfilm.

9. Dold, TuA 48(1957), 39. Prayers 8.2 - 8.6 are cited by rubric only, as they repeat prayers 7.2 - 7.6 above.

10. P. Siffrin, 'De Sacramentariis cod. lat. monacensis 6333 aliisque similibus Parisiensi Sangallensi Bruxellensi comparandis', EL 45(1931), 336. The SUP rubric for Dom. Paschae, recalling prayers 8.2 - 8.6 from the previous Sabbato Sancto mass, corresponds to the rubric in the Paduan sacramentary for the same mass-set. But the

correspondence between SUP and the Paduan is by no means consistent. SUP 2.6 - 2.8 for Nativity do not occur in the Paduan; nor does SUP 3.3 for Lent (and its variant 6.3) which is used in the Paduan for Nativity (or in the Sanctoral, for Abdo and Senes).

11. He would argue, in addition, that this distinction in 'text' and 'application' affected the 'function' of parts one and two: the one was to supplement prayers said at mass, the other at the offices. Dold partly disagreed, not that they both functioned as supplements, but that Siffrin distinguished between a collectar- and a sacramentary-supplement. Dold regarded them 'als SUPplement zu irgendwelchen anderen Sakramentaren' (TuA, 41-42), hence justifying their combination in SUP.

12. Gy, RSPTh, 452 n.83, 'un petit fragment de collectaire (viii<sup>e</sup> -ix<sup>e</sup> s.) dans un sacramentaire de structure irrégulière [CLM 6333, ed. Dold, TuA, 1957, 76\*-78\*]', (but his dating is too early, see n.2 above).

13. K. Gamber, Sakramentartypen, (1958), 153 n.5; Gamber, CLLA (1968), 331-333, no.707, 'Zu Beginn Adventsorationen (aus einem Kollektar?).'

14. Dold, TuA 48(1957), 40-41. Although he was prepared to consider Siffrin's proposal for SUP part one as a collectar ('aus dem ersten Blick'), he gave more serious attention to its use in the mass

(p.41, and see n.11, above) and noted especially the correspondence between SUP part two and 'ALP', (p.40). But see his final query on p.42, 'vielleicht können neue Funde einmal das Dunkel erhellen, das heute noch über diesem Bruchstück lagert', and again at the beginning of the text-edition, p.76\*.

15. A table showing the correspondences between SUP part 2 and the Hadrianum [= H] (Cambrai Ms. 164, ed. Deshusses, Grégorien, v.1):

<u>SUP</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>Feast in H</u>	<u>Rubric in H</u>
3.1	H183	(f. iiii p. D. I in Qu.)	super populum
3.2	H181		super oblatum
3.3	H190	(f. vi p. D. I in Qu.)	ad complendum
4.1	H229	(D. III in Qu.)	collecta
4.2	H230		sup. obl.
4.3	H231		ad compl.
5.1	H236	(f. iii p. D. III in Qu.)	coll.
5.2	H237		sup. obl.
5.3	H238		ad compl.
5.4	H239		sup. pop.
6.1	H312	(D. in Palmas)	coll.
6.2	H313		sup. obl.
6.3	H314		ad compl.
7.1	H377	(Sabbato sancto in nocte)	coll.
7.2	H378		sup. obl.
7.3	H385	(D. Sancto)	VD (praefatio)
7.4	H386		communicantes
7.5	H387		hanc igitur
7.6	H388		ad compl.
8.1	H383		coll.
8.2	(H378, H385		
-8.6	-H388)		
8.7	H389		coll.
8.8	H390		coll.

16. A table showing the correspondences between SUP 1.1-2.8 and the Hadrianum [=H] (with reference to corresponding collects in the 'Baturich Collectar' [=FrB] and the 'Orazionale Pacifico' [=OP]):

<u>SUP</u>	<u>FrB</u>	<u>OP</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>Feast in H</u>	<u>Rubric in H</u>
1.1	--	--	H778	(D. I Adventu)	coll.
1.2	--	--	H781	(D. II Adventu)	coll.
1.3	--	109	H787	(D. III Adventu)	coll.
1.4	--	102	H811	(Adventu)	alia orat.
1.5	--	103	H812		
1.6	--	104	H813		
2.1	10	---	H54	(Natale)	alia orat.
2.2	11	1	H55		
2.3	12	---	H56		
2.4	13	6	H57		
2.5	14	---	H58		
2.6	15	3	H59		
2.7	16	5	H60		
2.8	17	---	H61		

17. A table showing the correspondences between SUP and the Durham Collectar [=DC] (ed. U. Lindelof, Surtees Society 140, 1927) and the Leofric Collectar [=Lf] (ed. E.S. Dewick, HBS 45, 1914):

<u>SUP</u>	<u>DC no.</u>	<u>Lf (pp.)</u>	<u>Feast in Lf</u>	<u>Office in Lf</u>
1.1	///	Lf 2	D. I Advent	mat
1.2	///	Lf 7	D. II Advent	mat
1.3	///	Lf 9	D. III Advent	1 vesp
1.4	///	Lf 4	D. I Advent	non
1.5	///	Lf 6	D. II Advent	1 vesp
1.6	///	*Lf 7	D. II Advent	terce
2.1	///	Lf 19	Vigil Nat.	non
		Lf 20	Nat. (incipit only)	complines
2.2	///	*Lf 22		sext
2.3	///	Lf 22		non
2.4	*DC 12.2	Lf 41	Epiphany	sext
2.5	---	---	---	---
2.6	---	Lf 38	Oct. Dom.	2 vesp

2.7	---	*Lf 37		sext
2.8	---	Lf 37		non
3.1	DC 100.11	Lf 93	f.iiii p. D. I Quad.	2 vesp
3.2	---	---	-----	----
3.3	---	---	-----	----
4.1	---	Lf 103	D. III Qu.	mat
4.2	---	---	-----	----
4.3	---	---	-----	----
5.1	---	Lf 106	f.ii p. D. III Qu.	2 vesp
5.2	---	---	-----	----
5.3	---	---	-----	----
5.4	---	Lf 106	f.iii p. D. III Qu.	2 vesp
6.1	DC 151.14	Lf 122	D. in Palmis	mat
6.2	---	---	-----	----
6.3	---	---	-----	----
7.1	*DC 195.16	---	-----	----
-7.6	---	---	-----	----
8.1	---	Lf 134	in die sancto pasce	mat/prime
8.2	---	---	-----	----
-8.6	---	---	-----	----
8.7	DC 195.16	*Lf 135 and 136		terce and 2 vesp
8.8	DC 198.16(?) 199.16(?)	Lf 135(?) 136(?)	in die sancto pasce	sext 2 vesp

[\*significant variants exist in the text]

18. But note that the Leofric Collectar uses 5.1 for feria ii,  
not for feria iii as does SUP.

20. C. Mohlberg, 'De ignoto quodam Sacramentarii "Gelasiani" Sancti Galli fragmento,' EL, 42(1928), 65-73, esp.67, thought it was a sacramentary 'excarpsus'. But this has been proved wrong by M. Andrieu, Les Ordines du Haut Moyen Age, v.1 (1931), 330-331, n.1; and more recently by O. Heiming, 'Das Kollektar-Fragment des "Sangallensis 349, Seiten 5-36",' Mélanges Liturgiques Offerts à R.P. Dom Bernard Botte (1972), 175ff, with bibliography; Gy included it among his list of collectars in RSPTh, 452.

21. See Chapter Two, note 5, for derivation and medieval use of excarpsus for liturgical books.

22. O. Heiming, Mélanges Liturgiques, 180; K. Gamber, Sakramentartypen, 111-112.

23. Feria iiii, FrS 7-9::GeS 593-5; feria iv FrS 10-12::GeS 602-4; feria v FrS 13-15::GeS 611-13; feria vi FrS 16-17::GeS 620-621; sabbato FrS 18-19::GeS 628-629. Friday (FrS 16-17) and Saturday (FrS 18-19) in Easter Week are given only two collects, following the sacramentary, and have retained the rubrics ad uesperum and ad fontes, respectively.

24. Ed. and trans. T. Symons, Regularis Concordia: Anglicae Nationis Monachorum Sanctimonialiumque (1953), 51.

25. Heiming, Mélanges Liturgiques, 181-2. FrS 21-49::GeS 653-654 and 656-664. GeS is missing one folio following page 180 of the manuscript; GeS 644-52 are therefore supplied from the so-called 'Triplex Sacramentary', Zurich Ms. Cod. C.47; cf. GeS edn. by L.C. Mohlberg, Das Frankische Sacramentarium Gelasianum. in alamannischer Überlieferung (Codex Sangall. No. 348), (2nd. edn., 1971), 99 n.8.

26. But Heiming, Mélanges Liturgiques, 182, cautions against too strict a dependence: 'Da aber das fragment älter als die genannten Handschriften ist, kommt eine Abhängigkeit nicht in Frage, sondern nur eine gemeinsame Grundlage.'

27. Edd. A. Hanggi and A.Schönherr, Sacramentarium Rhenaugiense. Handschrift Rh 30 der Zentralbibliothek Zürich (1970).

28. FrS 53-7::GeS 714-18. These five collects are a 'Junggelasiana' borrowing from the Gregorian tradition.

29. But see the same sort of general group of Paschaltide prayers in OP 45-60 and FrB 39-64.



30. A. Holder, Die Reichenauer Handschriften, 2 (1914), 383; E.A. Lowe, CLA, 8 (1959); K. Gamber, CLLA (2nd. edn., 1968), no.1502; Gy, RSPHTh, 452. A semi-diplomatic edition of the FrR incipits, with collated texts, appear in Appendix II of this thesis.

31. See discussion in text above, 131. The curious scribal error which occurs in the rubric after Easter, In Aleas (see rubric preceding FrR 28-31 in Appendix II) may also be a Reichenau variant; but the limitations of the apparatus in Deshusses, Grégorien, makes this verification largely impossible.

32. 'A good number of things from different (sources) that are useful to the soul follow; and they also have their own places.' Ed. C. Mohlberg, Liber capitularis, 357-8; see discussion above in Chapter Two, 74-76, and in the semi-diplomatic edition and translation in Appendix III.

33. Holder, Die Reichenauer Handschriften, 384; Gamber, Sakramentartypen, 549; Gy, RSPHTh, 452. For missing Thursdays, see Appendix II, FrR 4-5 = feria iv; FrR 6-7 = feria vi. Serious departures from the Paduan tradition occur over FrR's inclusion of the BVM Nativity (FrR 146-7) and the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (FrR 151), among others; note also deviations among the aliae orationes (FrR 53-64).

34. F.J. Mone, Lateinische und Griechische Messen (1850), 123.

35. Feria ii, FrR 28-31::GrH 392,398-400; fer iii, FrR 32-34::GrH 401,405,407; fer iv, FrR 35-38::GrH 408,412-414; fer v, FrR 39-42::GrH 415,420-422; fer vi, FrR 43-46::GrH (457),423,427-428; sab, FrR 47-49::GrH 429,433-434. The prayers for feria iii are incomplete on account of the fragmentary state of the manuscript; but the second vesper collect must unquestionably have formed a part of the original manuscript.

36. Mone, Lateinische...Messen, 124.

37. 'Orationes cotidianae', FrR 198-215; 'orationes vespertinales seu matutinales' FrR 216-240. These occur as a cohesive group following the Commune Sanctorum.

38. Fer iv, FrR 4-5; fer vi, FrR 6-7; sab FrR 8-9. For Saturday in Week 4, see FrR 11-12; for ferial days in Passionweek, see FrR 15-24.

39. E. Adda, 'L'Orazionale dell' Arcidiacono Pacifico,' L'Orazionale dell' Arcidiacono Pacifico e il Carpsum del Cantore Stefano: Studi e testi sulla liturgia del duomo di Verona dal IX all' XI sec, edd. G.G. Meersseman, et. al., 53, where he argued that the Reichenau exemplar of OP pre-dated FrR. He concluded that the FrR compilation replaced the out-dated Gelasian exemplar of the OP, which

was thereafter discarded and given to Verona. But Adda fails to take into account the simultaneous use of Hadrianum and Gelasian books; see Chapter Two, 59 and n.28.

40. See Appendix II for folio numbers and relevant collations.

41. My evaluation of the hands are based on remarks of A. Holder, Die Reichenauer Handschriften, 387-389.

42. Deshusses, Grégorien, 2(1979); H. Barré and J. Deshusses, 'A la recherche du missel d'Alcuin,' EL, 82(1968), 24.

43. Deshusses, Grégorien, 2, 23.

44. The Corbie - Saint-Amand group is represented by T1 - T5; see Deshusses, Grégorien, 2, pp.21-23.

45. This date is arbitrary, taking into account the time necessary for Alcuin's compositions to be transmitted to the germanic monasteries, possibly through the impetus of Corbie - Saint-Amand, which the evidence of FrR 241, 242, and 268 implies. See also Alcuin material in the Beigaben of St. Gall 348, which was entered c.830, on empty folios; discussed in Chapter Four, 174-175 and n.48.

46. If ff.1-39r of FrR were written elsewhere, then its strong Gregorian character would not be a serious obstacle to Adda, who would argue, somewhat misleadingly, that the exemplar of the Pacificus collectar was written at Reichenau before the Gregorian was introduced, hence before FrR was brought there and the Hadrianum additions were entered on ff.39v-46v.

Notes to part (d)

47. Ms. Cotton Titus xxvi,xxvii has been partially edited in two rather obscure places, see nn. 49, 52 below.

48. H. Henel, ed., Aelfric's De temporibus anni, Early English Texts Society 213(1942), xx, is the first to suggest that D.xxvii was originally bound before D.xxvi; N.R. Ker, Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon, (1957), no.202, agrees but offers no paleographical or codicological evidence. That the calendar should be placed at the beginning (and that the computus material should precede the prognostics) concurs with the standard arrangement of liturgical books at this time, cf. F. Wormald, English Kalendars before A.D. 1100, HBS 72(1934), nos. 1-20.

49. Ker, Catalogue, art.a-d; printed W. de Gray Birch, 'On Two Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in the British Library,' Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature of the U.K., 2nd ser. 11(1878), 466, 483, 484, 486, but he does not always distinguish additions from the original material. Note that Ker claims the confraternity charter to correspond to the first part of the text in B.N. 943 (the Sherborne Pontifical).

50. Terce, Sext and None; a tenth-century introduction into the collectar corpus, as distinct from the Capitella [also attributed to hours but with special petitions intended, which are sometimes indicated -- the Celtic Capitella -- and othertimes not -- the Gallican (cf. J.B.L. Tolhurst, 'Introduction to the English Monastic Breviaries,' The Monastic Breviary of Hyde Abbey, Winchester, v.6, HBS, 80, 1942, 18-45). Collects for Prime(2), Terce, Sext, None and Compline(3) occur in the additions to the Durham Collectar (s.x.ex.), f.76 (ed., Lindelof, pp.143-45); hymns for the same (excluding compline) and for Saturday Vespers in winter, added f.77r-v (ed., Lindelof, 162-66) by Aeldred.

51. H. Gneuss, Hymnar und Hymnen im Englischen Mittelalter, 1968, 113, confined the collectar portion of D.xxvi to ff.20-50v; but the following prayers on ff.56v-79v after the litany need further study. Ker, Catalogue: D.xxvi, ff.20-68, are written by a single hand 'like to that in the New Minster gospels,' BL Add 34890; the 'supposed' hand of Aelsinus, contemporary to the first hand, takes over in the middle, ff.68-75v; at f.76, a third hand (?) enters a set

of collects for St.Nicholas; Aelsinus adds the beginning of St.John's Gospel on the last folio, f.80.

52. H. Barré, Prières anciennes de l'occident à la mère du Sauveur, des origines à saint Anselme, (Paris, 1963), 134, claims, without explanation, that the 'exercice pour l'adoration de la Croix (fol.65v-73v) ... a été inséré, vers 1050,...' between blank folios, ff. 64-65 and 74-75, which follow the St.John Passion (ff.57-63v). Ker, Catalogue does not mention this. Barré is probably confusing the drawings (see above, p.3ff) on ff.65v and 75v -- the respective bifolios of which Ker indicates were inserted later -- with the intermediate quire of eight leaves (ff.66-73v) which forms part of the original ms. (see below, n.55) The nine prayers for the votive office of the BVM, including four orationes (ff.82-84v) and the five preces sanctae which follow (ff.85r-v) are discussed and printed by Barré, Prières anciennes, 136-38. For the first, 'Singularis gratia,' on f.82 (printed as 'Singularis meriti', D.A. Wilmart, Precum libelli quattuor aevi karolini, EL, 1940, no.12, 16 and no.6, 140), D.A. Bullough has suggested that we are witnessing the penetration of preces privati into the office liturgy. Cf. in the Holy Trinity office in D.xxvii, f.78v, the oratio 'Domine deus omnipotens aeterne et ineffabilis' is also printed by Wilmart, Precum libelli, no.10, 15 and no.4, 139. Barré, Prières anciennes, 3, observes that 'd'ailleurs, certains formules liturgiques ne furent d'abord que des prieres de devotion privée.'

53. Gneuss, Hymnar, 109-110, 113, where specific hymns from the 'New Hymnal' in England are beginning to be used for special offices. Hymn 'Aue mari[s] stella', for BVM office in Titus D.xxvii, f.81v, occurs also in BL Royal 2.B.v. and BL Add. 21,927 for Vespers, and in Cot.Tib. A.iii for Matins. Chapter 'Ab initio ante secula', Titus f.81v, occurs also in Cot.Tib. A.iii for Vespers. All three offices in Titus provide the same psalms culled from Prime and the little hours; but alternatively, all three do not provide the lessons, an indication of Vespers; cf. Barré, Prières anciennes, 135 and n.42, and Gneuss, Hymnar, 113. Since the hymn, chapter and obviously the Magnificat are indicative of Vespers, then the use, at least of the BVM office, for this office seems relatively certain. But see objections from E.S. Dewick, ed., Facsimiles of Horae de Beata Maria Virgine from English Manuscripts of the eleventh century, HBS 21(1902), ix; and Tolhurst, The Monastic Breviary of Hyde Abbey, v.6, 120-21, 129, where he mistakenly claimed that 'the hour of the Cross has no hymn'(!) The 'Uexilla regis', f.80, is noted by Gneuss, Hymnar, 112.

54. Aethelwold cites none of them in the Regularis Concordia, ed. T. Symons, (1953). 'Uexilla regis prodeunt' is assigned to Quinquagesima in the material added to the DC, f.65v (ed. Lindelof, 136-7), by members of the Lindisfarne community at Chester-le-Street c.970. Aelfric prescribed 'Uexilla regis' for Passion Sunday and 'Ueni creator spiritus' for Pentecost in his c.1005 'Letter to the monks of Eynsham,' ed. M. Bateson, 178, 190.



55. The collation of the quiring and contents in the final twenty-nine folios in D.xxvii is as follows:

<u>quires</u>	<u>folios</u>	<u>contents</u>
*10	64-65	f.64v prayer to Cross f.65v drawing of Christ on Cross
11	66-73	Offices of the Cross
*12	74-75	f.74 prayer to guardian angel f.75v drawing of Holy Trinity
13	76-83	offices to the Holy Trinity, Holy Cross, and the BVM; first three 'orationes' to BVM
14	84-85	fourth 'oratio' to BVM; five 'praeces sancte'
15	86-93	eighteen 'praeces'

\*added s.xi

56. Ker, Catalogue, art.i-k; art.i is printed in Birch, Transactions, 508-9, including non-liturgical Latin contents, 495-510, esp. 510 for prayer to the guardian angel, f.74, 'in a handwriting of a later date.'

57. 'Frater humillimus et monachus aelsinus me scripsit ... Aelfwino monacho aeque decano compotum istum possideo uel me possidet,' printed and deciphered in Birch, Transactions, 503. D.H. Turner, 'The prayer book of Aelfwine,' The Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Art, ed. J. Backhouse, et al. (1984), no.61, 75, notes that contrary to common usage, decanus should be translated as 'dean'; cf. J.F. Niermeyer, Mediae Latinitatis (Leiden, 1976), under decanus, art. 5,6,7; Rule of St.Benedict, ch.21. For further evidence of Aelfwine's ownership, see Birch, Transactions, 493-4, 500, 510. On dating, see Ker, Catalogue; but T.A.M. Bishop, English Caroline Minuscule (Oxford, 1971), no.26, 23, gives an even earlier date of 1012-35. D.A. Bullough has noted that it is the hand of the obit against 'MXXIII' which led Ker to adopt the 1023 date; but this is a very doubtful argument and ?1012-35 may be better.

58. D.H. Turner, The Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Art, 75.

59. Birch, Transactions, 492-93, 509-11; his detailed descriptions of the miniatures neglects to point out that the first drawing occurs on one of the three bifolios inserted later, ff.18-19. See J.A. Kidd, 'The 'Quinity' of Winchester reconsidered', Studies in Iconography, 7-8(1981-82), 21-33, for possible historical significance of the 'Quinity' composition depicting God, Christ, Mary, Infant Jesus and dove, with unusual emphasis placed on Mary and her triumph over the heretic Arius.

60. For collation, see above, n.55.

61. See the extensive bibliography in E. Temple, Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts 900-1006 v.2, (1976), no.77; and esp. F. Wormald, English Drawings of the tenth and eleventh centuries (1952), no.33.

62. Gneuss, Hymnar, 112; see above, p.136-37. Cf. Gneuss, 'Liturgical books in Anglo-Saxon England and their Old English terminology,' Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England, ed. M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss, (1985), 113, where Hy is placed among the four surviving Anglo-Saxon manuscripts containing collectars. Cf. Gneuss, 'A preliminary list of mss. written or owned in England up to 1100', ASE 9(1981), no.380.

63. Hughes, ed., The Wulfstan Portiforium, vol.2, ix-xxv.

64. C.Hohler, 'The Red Book of Darley', Nordiskt Kollokvium II i latinsk liturgiforskning (Institutionen for klassika sprak vid Stodkholms Universitet, 1972), 46-47. A similar case can be made for St.Mary's, York Ordinal, in this instance, representing the monastic liturgy of Glastonbury before the Clunaic reforms initiated at Fécamp, 1001, by William of Volpiano on account of correspondences with the thirteenth-century breviary from Muchelney (a house under the influence of Glastonbury; cf. H.R. Loyn, Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman Conquest, London, 1962, 244; D. Knowles, The monastic order in England, Cambridge, 1963, 9). Cf. Abbess of Stanbrook and J.B.L.

Tolhurst, ed., The Ordinal and Customary of the Abbey of Saint Mary, York, 3, HBS 84(1951), App. 1.

65. Hughes, ed., The Wulfstan Portiforium, x; his collations do not therefore include collects; see related argument for the medieval scribe's attitude towards the transmission of devotional prayers, P. Sims-Williams, 'Thoughts on Ephrem the Syrian in Anglo-Saxon England', Learning and Literature, 220; also E. Bishop, 'Liturgical Note', Book of Cerne, ed. A.B. Kuypers, 1902, 234-5.

66. Stephen's Preface to his 'Liber capitularis', ed. Mohlberg, Liber capitularis, 357-8; see above, Chapter Two, 74ff. and see semi-diplomatic edn. and trans. in App. III. On similarity between the Leofric Collectar, the Wulfstan Portiforium and Stephen's 'Liber capitularis', see Frere, ed. The Leofric Collectar, v.2, xxv, xxxviii.

67. Commune Sanctorum in DC, ff.38v-45. Due to the lacuna of two folios following f.44, the possible form which the missing rubric for a virgin might have taken remains unsolved. The distinctive rubric in Titus D.xxvi Unius Virg[inis] Siue Mart[yrum] finds a parallel among early English manuscripts only in the Leofric Missal(a), f.208v (ed. F.E. Warren, The Leofric Missal, 1883, 173), part of the original book c.900 (see above, p.7, and further discussion in Chapter Four, part b).

68. These calculations exclude the provisions for Many Virgins in Titus D.xxvi since the relevant folios are lacking in the DC.

69. F. Wormald, The Durham Ritual (EEMF), 47, emends the DC's second provision of 'Many Martyrs', f.44, to one of 'confessor saints', a scribal error for 'Natale Plurimorum Sanctorum'; cf. the correct rubric in the Leofric Missal(a), 174 (f.209v), and Ms. St.Gallen 348, set no. 282 (p.229 of edn.; and see below, n.73).

70. The fifth and last DC collect (DC 574.127) is incomplete, see above n.67.

71. See F.E. Warren, The Leofric Missal (1883), xxxi and esp. xl, for characteristics of the continental hand in the earliest part of this manuscript (presumably in use at Glastonbury). Hohler, Tenth-Century Studies, 69ff., dates the original book, LMa, to c.900 and would be prepared to argue that the office of St.Cuthbert is of Belgian authorship.

72. Ed. Warren, The Leofric Missal, 174. The preservation of the order of prayers in the sacramentary (cf. St.Gallen 348, n.73 below) is evidence once again that early collectars drew directly from prayers of the mass-set; see also the DC's provisions for All Saints, ff.35v-36 which is discussed in detail in Chapter Four, Part (a).

73. That the Commons for Plurimorum Sanctorum in LMa (and somewhat misleadingly in DC) represents a context of continental-manuscripts is demonstrated by additions to St.Gallen Ms.348 [=GeS]. Three of the nine collects that were added early ninth century at St.Gallen, in the margin next to the original prayers (c.800 at Chur) for In Nat. Plurimorum Sanctorum, correspond to DC 572.127::GeS 1494; DC 573.127::GeS 1495; and DC 574.127::GeS 1496. The collect of the original GeS set corresponds to DC 571.127::GeS 1489. DC 570.127 originally belonged to GeS 1501 for the Commons of Many Martyrs.

74. Cf. six collects in the Wulfstan Portiforium (ed. Hughes, 156-7, the 'first' Commons); six collects, twice, in the Leofric Collectar: for an ordained confessor (bishop or priest) and for a confessor not in secular orders (ed. Dewick and Frere, 327-34). The Portiforium's single provision agrees with the Leofric's second, giving an important indication of the Portiforium's monastic character which is otherwise lacking; see Hughes, Wulfstan Portiforium, ix.

75. Ed. Warren, The Leofric Missal, 20-21, Missa In Aecclesia Cuiuslibet Martyris Uel Confessoris, where 'Propitiare quaesumus domine nobis famulis tuis' (DC 552.123) is the collect of the mass; the secreta 'Suscipiat clementia tua', and postcommunione 'Diuina libantes mysteria', were not included in the DC. The mass forms part of thirty-four masses [=LMc] for the Commune Sanctorum and votives, which were added to the beginning folios 'partly before, partly during, the episcopate of Leofric, 1052-72' (Warren, ibid, lvi).

76. Ed. D. Knowles, Regularis Concordia, 31, Purification: 'collecta ad uenerationem ipsius sancti cui ecclesia ipsa ad quam itur dedicata est'; 35, Palm Sunday: 'orationem ipsius sancti ... cui ecclesia dedicata est'; cf. M. Bateson, ed., Aelfric's 'Letter to the Monks at Eynsham,' 180 and 183, respectively.

77. T.J. Brown, The Durham Ritual, EEMF, 11, 37.

78. F. Warren, xliii, liii, has established the Glastonbury origins of LMB, an English kalendar of late tenth century; C. Hohler, Tenth-Century Studies, 69 seems to suggest, on the basis of invocations in the litany of LMa to Sts. Patrick, Cuthbert and Guthlac, that LMa was imported to Glastonbury where it was bound up with the kalendar before becoming the possession of Bishop Leofric of Exeter.

79. M. Bateson, 'A Worcester Cathedral book of ecclesiastical collections, made c. 1000 A.D.', English Historical Review 10(1895), 712, was the first to describe a group of manuscripts as 'scrapbooks' which 'found peculiar favour with the monks of the early eleventh century,' esp. CCCC Ms.265 (s.xi.med.), 'a kind of theological commonplace book', and CCCC Ms.190 (s.xi.in.); D. Bethurum, 'Archbishop Wulfstan's commonplace book', PMLA 57(1942), 916, esp.920ff, 927ff, 928n.43; D. Whitelock, 'Archbishop Wulfstan, homilist and statesman', History, Law and Literature in 10th-11th c. England, 1980 Variorum Rpt., XI (fr. TRHS, 4th ser., vol.24, 1942), 48ff, esp.49n.3, 50n.8; P. Clemoes, 'The Old English Benedictine



Office, CCCC Ms. 190, and the relations between Aelfric and Wulfstan: a reconsideration', Anglia 78(1960), 265ff, and see 274n.2 for Aelfric's similar use of Ms. Boulogne-sur-Mer 63.

80. H. Barré, Prières anciennes, 135: 'les milieux de Winchester se montrent conservateurs de l'antique tradition, insulaire et continentale', for orationes of BVM office in Titus D.xxvii; note the second, 'Sancta et gloriosa dei genitrix', f.83, in Book of Cerne, ed. Kuypers, as no.58, an 'oratio Alchfrido', the anchorite (cf. no.47, 48, and p.232, n.3). [For relationship between Book of Cerne and the DC additions, see Chapter Seven, n.74 below.]

81. Hohler, Nordiskt Kollokvium, 47.

## Chapter Four

### Peculiar prayers in the Durham Collectar: the liturgical background, 8th-12th c.

This chapter attempts in a very tentative way to identify the sources and manuscript traditions of some of the more peculiar prayers in the A.IV.19, ff.1-61r10 [=DC]. The first part will be concerned with an analysis of a few of the more significant collects in the DC in an attempt to discover some of the more distinctive characteristics of its liturgical traditions. These results will place in question the spurious claims made about the scriptorium of the DC exemplar, and will suggest possible new relationships for its prayers. These issues will be dealt with more fully in the next chapter.

As a general rule, the prayers in the DC are associated with the sacramentaries, as the latter functioned as the primary source for the early collectars. When certain of the collectar prayers are discovered to have special correspondences with the early sacramentaries, or with later liturgical books, then and only then, is it possible to trace the historical transmission of these collects into collectars such as the DC. The more peculiar festivals and prayers may even help to identify the liturgical communities themselves which lie behind the DC text as we have it by the early tenth century.

This is not an attempt to identify the manuscripts from which the A.IV.19 derived its material directly. This is largely impossible for the obvious reason that few manuscripts survive from that period; moreover, variant readings in the text of the prayers themselves are not enough to substantiate a direct dependence among liturgical texts. Rather, as C. Hohler has admirably done for the Ratoldus Sacramentary, this is an attempt to disentangle from the collection those clues which link the DC to various communities which were likely to have shared their books and their liturgical practices.[1] One must remember that liturgical books like this one are fluid entities that assimilate traditions and prayers with each successive copy. In the following analysis, it will be assumed that the reader will make reference to the collation tables in Appendix I. The more important collations will also be cited in the notes following this chapter for the reader's convenience. Correspondences between manuscripts are expressed with a double colon sign ::. Manuscript abbreviations conform to those used in Chapter Two, and are listed also in Appendix I, p.342.

a) All Saints (1 Nov)

The Durham Collectar offers a very large provision for the festival of All Saints, ff.35v-36r (DC 454-466). Unprecedented among the two English collectars and likewise rare among the continental ones, the DC has two groups of votive mass collects, collectiones in cotidianis diebus, which are preceded by the standard vigil group, beginning with 'Dne ds noster', and by the set for the feast day itself.[2] The prayer which introduces the feast day is the exceedingly rare collect 'Exaudi dne famulos tuos' (DC 455). This can be found in no other pre-tenth-century manuscript except one: the unusual ninth-century Sacramentary of Tours, now divided and preserved in two different libraries (hereafter referred to as one book = Tu1), which was written at St. Martin of Tours and adapted later for the city's cathedral, St. Maurice (now called St. Gatien). This collect forms a part of an alternative mass set for All Saints, whose composition is attributed to Alcuin.[3]

In an article which effectively unravels the complicated history of this manuscript, Barre and Deshusses have presented a strong case for Alcuin as the promoter of this festival (it does not occur in the Hadrianum) and as the author of several of its prayers. Their argument is based on the accounts of two surviving Alcuin letters, one written to the monks of Saint-Vaast and the other to the monks of Fulda.[4] By the tenth century, additional mass and votive prayers had accrued to, or in some cases had replaced, the original Alcuinian ones, which attest to the popularity of the festival at this early

stage. This development may account for the unusually large provision for All Saints in the A.IV.19, not all of them attributed to Alcuin.[5]

Despite these post-Alcuinian compositions, the A.IV.19 has retained the 'Exaudi nos famulos tuos', a collect which is peculiar to Tu1. Barré and Deshusses have claimed this manuscript to be most representative of the sacramentary which Alcuin must have composed for his own use at Tours.[6]

The 'Exaudi dne' is not the only Alcuinian collect in the DC's All Saints provisions. The collect 'Dne ds noster multiplica (DC 454.97) derives from the standard vigil mass for All Saints, 31 October, a mass set which is also attributed to Alcuin.[7] Of the four collects assigned to the feast day, the first is Alcuin's 'Exaudi dne', and the following three collects are the collect ('O. s. ds qui nos...merita'), post-communion and super populum, respectively, from the standard mass for the day also attributed to Alcuin.[8]

Composed in the early part of the ninth century, these standard Alcuin masses for the vigil and feast of All Saints are limited to the few ninth-century Gregorian manuscripts associated with Alcuin. The single exception to this is their occurrence in a ninth-century Frankish-Gelasian witness. Both masses were added to the empty folios which preceded the Gelasian sacramentary of St. Gallen 348, ff.18-21, at St. Gallen, c.840-860.[9] This suggests that Alcuin material had arrived there at the St. Gallen scriptorium by this early date. The

DC collects are identical with those in the St. Gallen additions, with the exception that the ad complendum and super populum collects are inverted in the latter.[10] Such was the popularity of the Alcuin masses for All Saints, that when they eventually arrived at St. Gallen, his relatively 'new' compositions were immediately added by mid-century at a convenient place in the book.[11] Their occurrence in the DC shows that this part of the collection lay in the mainstream of ninth- and tenth-century liturgical compositions. By early tenth century, these compositions were so popular that the DC could have acquired them from a great variety of books written at several different places.[12]

The DC's two votive sections for All Saints (DC rubrics no.99 and no.100) correspond less to the organization of any one mass set, and thus prove more difficult to analyze coherently. In the first section (.99), the latter two (DC 460, 'Maiestati tuae dne,' and 461, 'Praestatio o. ds') of the three collects occur as extra aliae collects to the alternative Alcuin set which begins with the unique 'Exaudi dne', preserved only in the Tours sacramentary.[13] The first collect, 'Adesto ds' (DC 459.99), has as yet no corollary among the pre-tenth-century service-books.

The second votive section is a conglomeration of elements common to both the Gregorian and Gelasian corpus. The first two collects (DC 462 and 463) form the collecta and super populum, respectively, in a votive mass In Honore Omnium Sanctorum attributed to Alcuin.[14] But the final three collects (DC 464-466) are found together as a mass set

only in the Beigaben of the St. Gallen 348, added slightly earlier than the vigil and nativity sets in c.830.[15] It forms part of a separate 'Libellus', ff.24-30, which consists largely of Alcuinian material.[16] Other than the usual spelling variants, the DC inverts the order represented in the Beigaben, and in DC 465, the last two phrases of the ut clause occur in reversed order.[17] But the variants are not sufficiently significant to dispel the fact that DC 464-466 and Bg 45-47 are somehow linked to the same liturgical tradition.

This tradition would most likely have connections with Alcuin although, historically, DC 464 formed a collect for St. Lawrence day and DC 466 for Sts. Felicissimus and Agapitus.[18] This would accord very well with the pattern of sources already interpreted for the DC in regards to its All Saints vigil and feast, and also for the high percentage of Alcuin sets existing in the Beigaben.[19] Hence both the DC and the Beigaben have preserved three mass sets for All Saints, which Deshusses has attributed to the Alcuin-manuscripts. It is still a matter of conjecture, though based on firm structural evidence, that this fourth mass set, represented in DC 464-466, and preserved in both manuscripts, had also once formed part of the Alcuin corpus for All Saints.

This conclusion would imply that the unusually large provisions of thirteen collects for All Saints in the DC are all connected to Alcuin material, either directly, as in the case of DC 455 and 460-461, or indirectly. It is an important observation, describing one of the strongest characteristics of the DC's liturgical sources,



which liturgical scholarship has not yet acknowledged.

One other collectar has preserved an extensive range of Alcuin material: this is the early eleventh-century collectar written at St. Thierry [=Th2] which is acknowledged to have taken its structural form from an older collectar which arrived there from St-Remi, Rheims Ms.304 [=Th1]. Its provision of eight collects designated for the Celebritas Cunctorum Sanctorum, ff.79r-80r, contain, aside from the post-communion and super populum of the standard Alcuin mass for the feast of All Saints, the entire group of three collects from the first votive set in DC (DC 459-461::Th2 f79v), including the untraceable 'Adesto ds' (DC 459), as well as the last two collects of DC's second votive set (DC 465,466::Th2 f80r). These five votive collects are preceded by the unique 'Exaudi dne' (DC 455). Th2 is essentially the only liturgical witness post-dating the DC, to have preserved this collect and the 'Adesto ds'. This textual relationship between Th2 and DC will be dealt with more fully in the following chapter. Meanwhile, it is sufficient to note here that this correspondence is not comprehensive, as Th2 is missing the collect from the Alcuin mass for All Saints, and the first three collects of the second votive section (DC 456, 462, 463, 464).

The analysis of the All Saints provisions in the DC has been made possible by the discipline with which the DC has preserved the structure of the mass sets and the sequence of the sacramentary prayers. This would place the DC fairly close to the 'pure collectar' on account of its somewhat archaic structural elements. In contrast

to the more sophisticated collectars such as Lf and Wp, the DC should be described as a 'primitive collectar' on account of its structural adherence to the sacramentary. For example, of the eight collects offered in the Leofric Collectar for All Saints, only five are shared with the DC, three of which correspond to the prayers in the standard Alcuin mass for All Saints. Of the six in the Wulfstan Portiforium, four occur in the DC, but only one of them corresponds to the Alcuin mass.[20] Note that none of the collects from the anonymous votive set (DC 464-466), which follow the Alcuin votive in both the DC (DC 462, 463) and the Beigaben (Bg 41, 44) are picked up in either of the later English collectars. This stresses the fact that the DC does not share the liturgical traditions held exclusively between Lf and Wp, contrary to the assumptions of Frere.[21] Instead, the Lf and Wp have selected other collects from the anonymous pool of liturgical prayers composed for All Saints from the second half of the ninth century onwards.[22] By contrast, the DC has insisted on adhering to the structure of one or other sacramentaries associated with Alcuin.

#### b) The Common of a Church Dedication

This adherence to Alcuin-composed masses would also explain an oddity in the Commune Sanctorum. Following an unusually full provision of seven collects for Unius Confessoris, an additional two collects, 'Propitiare' and 'Da aeterne' (DC 552 and 553), occur under the rubric In Ecclesia Cuiuslibet Sc'i Martiris Siue Confessoris (DC

rubric no.123). This votive mass is attributed to Alcuin, where the two collects form the collect (Tc 1877) and super populum (Tc 1881), respectively.[23] The two collects occur in Tu1, in addition to a small handful of other sacramentaries associated with Alcuin, among them, two from St. Amand, and one from Corbie.[24] Textual variants offer no conclusive evidence in this case; other than typical spelling variants, the DC has interpolated a second da in the collect 'Da aeternae' (DC 553), but no other manuscript witness has preserved this.

The subsequent history of this Alcuinian votive mass is of some interest. Both collects occur in the Fulda Sacramentary under the votive mass In Honore Specialium Sanctorum. [25] Here, by c.970-980, the collect, at least, has been modified to include the specific saints of that community. In light of the Fulda emendation, the original Alcuin prayer should be considered an antiquated version, which the DC has persisted in preserving.[26]

The Alcuin mass set, without the super populum which the DC has preserved, and in the antiquated version, occurs in the Leofric Missal as a votive mass under a nearly-identical rubric, forming a part of the thirty-four common or votive masses added to this manuscript in the eleventh century during Leofric's episcopacy, 1050-72.[27] The occurrence of such an indisputably continental votive mass, without the late tenth-century modifications, in an eleventh-century English book [=LMc], requires some explanation. Any possible answer would have been less plausible, had the DC not been able to provide the

obvious suggestion. From the evidence of DC 552 and 553, one can now argue with some justification, that these ninth-century continental formulae were copied into early tenth-century books bound for England, and used in their new home, while they became out-dated and rejected, or transposed on the continent, as in the case of the adapted collects in the Fulda Sacramentary.

DC 552 in the antiquated version and DC 553 also occur in the collectar portion of Abbot Aelfwine's commonplace book although Hy retains them within a larger group of eight prayers for the Common of Many Martyrs. They were compiled at New Minster, ?1012-1035, between the dates of the DC and part 'c' of the Leofric Missal. This has been discussed more fully in Chapter Three, Part d above.[28] As has been shown, this intriguing manuscript, probably compiled personally by the Abbot while he was still Dean, has very strong associations with the DC both in the content and sequence of certain sections of the Commune Sanctorum. The formulae represented in the DC must have been preserved in the scriptoria of Winchester, providing material for Aelfwine's selections. The Leofric additions could have derived the collects from here.

The transmission of the Alcuin mass set for In Ecclesia Cuiuslibet Sc'i Martiris to England would need to have been done before the second half of the tenth century when the modifications were beginning to gain popularity. This is evident from the earlier of the two St. Thierry collectars (Reims Ms.304, s.x.1, f.106v [=Th1]). As noted above in Chapter Two, Deshusses has recently argued

that Th1 was written at St-Rémi and brought to St. Thierry by Abbot Ayrard and his monks in the reforms of 972.[29] The collects DC 552 and 553 were copied by the original scribe onto f.106v. A late tenth-century hand made certain modifications to the second collect, 'Da aeternae' (DC 553), changing verb tenses to the personal plural, and adding the specific invocation of 'per beati basoli confessoris tui' interlinearly above the general 'illius'. These changes imply that the original version was becoming hard to find by mid-century. Hence, in Reims Ms.305 [=Th2], the early eleventh-century copy of Th1 (with dependence on other sources as noted above in Chapter Two), the scribe rewrote and replaced the general invocation in both DC 552 and 553 with a specific reference to Sts. Martin, Bertin, Audomar, Silvinius, Vedast, and Eleutherius.[30] As in the Fulda Sacramentary, the scribes were now attaching their books permanently to specific continental homes in the latter years of the tenth century. If the mass set of In ecclesia cuiuslibet was able to retain its purest form only in the first part of that century, which the original text of Th1 illustrates so vividly, then it seems likely that the DC acted as one of the first catalysts to carry it across in its original form to England, in which form it was used as late as the episcopacy of Bishop Leofric.

c) Marial Feasts: Purification, Annunciation, Assumption, Nativity

The provisions for the four marial feasts in the DC are peculiar, some of which show yet again that the compilation was influenced by manuscripts from Tours. As noted above in Chapter Two, the Purification (2 Feb, DC 23-25.4) occurs inexplicably out of context, though retaining its chronology, in the Temporal. The Annunciation (25 Mar, DC 335.39) offers a single collect which follows the Gregorian tradition, and is a perfect example of how the tenth-century English church favored the Gregorian prayers. Both the Assumption (15 Aug., DC 411-417.80) and the Nativity (8 Sept., DC 429-436.88) have unusually full provisions, offering seven and eight collects, respectively. The eighth collect of the Nativity breaks off incompletely at the bottom of f.33v, and the lacuna which follows presupposes that other collects may have followed.

The peculiarity over the Purification provisions in the DC rests solely on its position in the Temporal, the only sanctoral feast to be misplaced in this way. This in itself is significant, in that it is a remnant of the strong continental tradition which lies behind the DC. It could have been considered a 'mistake' in the context of English books where the Sanctoral is customarily separated from the Temporal.[31] That the Purification occurs also in the Sanctoral of part 'a' of the Leofric Missal may suggest that what is initially interpreted as an oversight by the scribe of DC, may in fact have been a fault of the DC exemplar. The placement suggests that the DC exemplar was somehow in touch with the Leofric tradition, and had

deliberately retained its position in the Temporal. The English scribe of the DC was apparently in no position to make substantial revisions to the book he was copying, thereby preserving the oddity in his copy.[32]

The DC prayers for the Purification include the standard Gregorian mass-set, preceded by the stational collect 'Erudi qs dne plebem tuam' (DC 23::GrH 123). Bishop Aethelwold and Abbot Aelfric instructed their monks to recite this prayer at the door of the church, in front of the collected community, before entering for Terce and the Mass.[33] 'Erudi qs' occurs in all consulted collectars in which the Purification festival has survived. The collectar was obviously successful in at least one of its functions: the extraction of prayers recited outside the proper mass, which would ease the large quantity of material in a sacramentary.[34]

The single collect in DC for the Annunciation, BVM, 'Ds qui beatae uirginis' DC 335.39 is a vivid indicator of the conflict instigated by the Gelasian and Gregorian rites, which were circulating simultaneously but in opposition, and the extent to which the books collected by the English church followed the latter in the tenth and eleventh centuries. On the continent, the pre-tenth century collectars which professed to have Gregorian exemplars, provide the 'Ds qui [de] beatae' collect (GrH 140::DC 335). It occurs in the Baturich Collectar (FrB 33) as part of the four prayers (FrB 31-34) taken from the Gregorian mass-set, and in the Prüm collectar (FrP 21=v1), of which the incipit only is provided, relying on the



well-known text to have been committed to memory.[35] The St. Gallen collectar, FrS, the only pure Gelasian collectar to have survived, offers the Gelasian collect 'Beate et gloriose semperque uirginis' (FrS 50::GeS 684). The Gregorian collect, not the Gelasian, appears in England in the Leofric Missal, c.900 [=LMa], and is used consistently right up through the eleventh century where it occurs in Lf and Wp.

A slight distinction should be noted. As a general rule, the English books tend to follow one or other of two readings for 'Ds qui [de] beatae' which survive in the ninth-century Gregorian witnesses. Together with LMa, Wp and the Winchcombe Sacramentary [=Wb],[36] the DC shares the 'Ds qui beatae' reading instead of the alternative 'Ds qui de beatae' which Lf alone preserves.[37] The DC reading is, strangely enough, at odds with the Tours and St. Thierry books, which retain the de addition. Of the many ninth-century Gregorians which do show the DC reading, a significant one is the Ste-Genevieve 111, which will be discussed later. The variant reading shared among the tenth-century books of DC, LMa, and Wb distinguishes them from the Leofric Collectar and could be a result of the close ties which each of the three share with north-French liturgical material in a very general sense.

The fact that all of these tenth- and eleventh-century English books have used the Gregorian collect (regardless of the variant readings) and mass for the Annunciation in England may indicate an example of the continental reform efforts transmitted to England in

the early tenth century. If one accepts the Hohler/Turner argument that certain Hadrianum collects had been replaced previously in 'pre-850' England by Gelasian and other formulae, then one must try to make sense of the fact that these tenth-century English books are exhibiting the opposite tendency.[38] It is particularly apparent in LMa and Wb where the mass-set includes the Gregorian secretæ 'In mentibus nostris', which Turner has argued was not used in the books exhibiting the early-English rite. These preserved instead the 'Altari tuo dne'. The tenth-century English books such as DC, LMa and Wb are following the Gregorian rite which is one of the acknowledged attributes of tenth-century continental reform.

The seven collects for the Assumption in DC have no other rubric than the general Collecte (DC 411-417.80). The first three collects correspond to the collect, secret, and post-communion of the vigil mass of the Assumption in the Hadrianum. The inclusion of the secretæ (DC 412) is a highly unusual and rare borrowing for the collectar, particularly in the early tenth century. This particular secretæ appears frequently in collectars of the mid-tenth century and later, including the tenth-century Schaftlarn collectar [=Shf], as well as the two Augsburg manuscripts [=Ag1, Ag2] and the St. Thierry collectar [=Th2], but not in its early tenth-century prototype, Th1.[39] Its increasing popularity suggests that the heavy demand on the BVM collects resulted in the accumulation of every possible prayer, including, in this case, the secretæ. The DC scribe did not assign these three collects to the vigil offices. In the other collectars, however, the collect and secret (DC 411, 412) are carefully assigned to first Vespers. Aside from Th2, they shift the

post-communion of the vigil mass (DC 413) to the feast day. Whether or not this division was observed when the officiant used the DC must be left to conjecture. But it is worth pointing out that new designations were frequently made to the collects when transmitting them from the sacramentary to the collectar.[40]

The final four collects in the DC's Assumption provisions ought to correspond as a tidy group to the Gregorian mass for the feast day. The first three, DC 414-416, agree with the oratio ad collectam, collecta and secreta of the standard mass set.[41] But the fourth collect is, unexpectedly, 'Praesta qs o. ds' (DC 417) in lieu of the Gregorian post-communion 'Mensae caelestis' (GrH 664). 'Praesta qs' is related to one of the Nativity provisions, 'Beatae mariae semper uirginis' (DC 434, see below, p.186). Both DC 417 and 434 belong to the Alcuin votive mass for a marial vigil, the collect and super populum, respectively, which has survived only in Tu1.[42] Its occurrence in the Assumption could indicate a possible interpolation from a particular Alcuinian source which has not survived. Certainly, no extant Gregorian witness offers this Alcuin votive collect (DC 417) for the Assumption.[44] It demonstrates that Alcuin votive prayers are regularly infiltrating tenth-century books wherever extra collects are required.

The survival of DC 417, 'Praesta qs o. ds' is seemingly rare. It occurs in LMa as the collect for the vigil mass of the Purification.[43] Among the collectars, only the later St. Thierry collectar [=Th2] preserves this rare Alcuin votive collect, where it

is found, like DC, among the Assumption prayers. And like DC once again, Th2 assigns the super populum of this votive mass to the Nativity.[44] Most of the other collectars have either used the standard post-communion for the festival, 'Mensae caelestis', or rejected it altogether. The correspondence between DC and Th2 over these votive prayers indicates that the full Alcuin votive mass was circulating among the source material shared by both DC and Th2; and that as early as the hypothetical date of the DC exemplar (c.890? see Chapter Seven, Part d below), the Alcuin votive mass was split between the Nativity (collect) and the Assumption (post-communion) which was preserved in the early eleventh-century compilation of Th2.

The last marial feast in the DC, the Nativity BVM (DC 429.88-436.88), has eight surviving collects. The first two derive from the standard Gregorian mass for this festival. DC 429 corresponds to the vigil collect (GrH 680), and DC 430 to the collect of the mass (GrH 681). Passing over the next five collects temporarily, the eighth collect, DC 436, is a puzzling Gelasian borrowing from the Annunciation, transferred here to the Nativity (DC 436::GeS 685=ao). It could possibly be explained in terms of a former (Gregorian) alliance, now lost, with an alternative Nativity mass compiled at Tours, which may have borrowed some of the Gelasian prayers and transferred them to the aliae orationes of the Nativity.[45] Certainly, the preceding prayer, DC 435, is a Gelasian borrowing from the Annunciation (GeS 683=sp), which was transferred to the Nativity in Tu1 as an alternative mass.[46]

Of the five 'middle' collects, DC 431 and 435 are the collecta and super populum, respectively, of this alternative Nativity mass in Tu1.[47] DC 432 and 433 correspond to the collect (Tc 1841) and super populum (Tc 1844), respectively, of an Alcuin votive mass for a marial festival.[48] The sixth collect of the DC sequence is the 'Beatae mariae semper uirginis' (DC 434). It can be found in no other sacramentary other than Tu1, in which it occurs as the super populum to yet another Alcuin votive mass, In uigilia festiuitatum sanctae mariae. [49]

It is likely, therefore, that the group of collects, 431-435 in the DC, represented an amalgamation of several mass sets inspired by Alcuin or the 'Alcuin school', based largely on models provided by the Tours sacramentary. The placement of DC 431 and 435 suggests that the basic structure of the alternative mass from Tours has remained stable, so far as the collecta and super populum are concerned. The internal components have been replaced with three prayers associated with Alcuin compositions. Wherever this first compilation took place, it seems likely that the DC's Nativity prayers united not one, but two or three mass sets dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and that the object of the internal substitutions was to present a very strong Alcuinian character.

The later English collectars preserve a few of these Alcuin prayers for the Nativity. Among the six collects offered in Lf and Wp (whose provisions are identical), two of the Alcuin votive collects in the DC are significantly absent (DC 432 and 433) as indeed is the

final collect borrowed from the Gelasian (DC 436). In its place, Lf and Wp have somehow preserved for Sext yet another prayer from the alternative Nativity mass composed at Tours, the alternative collect, 'Adesto nobis' (GrTo 3588).[50]

The unexpected appearance of the DC 'Beatae mariae semper uirginis' (DC 434) in Lf and Wp, used here for second Vespers, forces one to re-evaluate the impact of these votive compositions of Alcuin on tenth-century liturgical books. Evidence for a wider circulation of these prayers on the Continent by the eleventh century is offered by Th2, which carries the 'Beatae' collect for the Nativity on f.74v. Ordinarily, this could have been interpreted as yet another unique correspondence linking Th2 with DC. But in this case, the evidence from Lf and Wp suggests that some copy of the Alcuin votive mass for the vigil festival of the BVM reached the Low Countries, where it is said that the Leofric Collectar received much of its material.[51] Whatever the actual reconstruction may be, it is important to note that this rather rare votive mass received a wider circulation among manuscripts in the tenth and eleventh centuries than its ninth-century predecessors have indicated.

The preservation of Alcuin masses is by no means peculiar among manuscripts of the tenth century. It has been argued through the evidence of later manuscripts that they earned a prominent place in the standard pool of liturgical prayers within the century. But it is unusual that the percentage of these prayers is so high in the DC. For example, although Lf and Wp are nearly identical with the DC in

the Nativity provisions, they lack the two prayers from the Alcuin votive mass for a marial festival. In a further instance, although the tenth-century monastic collectar from Schaftlarn [=Shf] offers, like the DC, the collects from the standard Gregorian mass, as well as the collect of the alternative Nativity mass from Tours, it has preserved the prayers from only one of the Alcuin votive masses (=DC 432 and 433), located in its section of votive offices. It shows no sign of familiarity with the Alcuin votive mass associated with DC 434.[52] The early continental collectars show an even lower percentage. As has been observed, these very early collectars normally follow a single sacramentary, as has been demonstrated, giving no opportunity for them to glean extra-large provisions from a multiple of sources.[53] But even the first two collectars which begin to show more sophisticated methods of compilation, i.e., the collectars of Pacificus and Baturich, do not follow the Alcuin tradition marked out by DC.

(1) Conclusions from (a)-(c) above

Perhaps the most remarkable analogy to the kind of observations drawn here with reference to the early sources of the prayers of All Saints, the Commons and the marial provisions in the DC, is that of the origins of the hymnal, a study of which has been conducted recently by D.A. Bullough and A.L.H. Corrêa.<sup>^</sup>[54] Progressing from the ground-breaking work of Gneuss's study of the hymnal in England, in which he restricted his attention necessarily to the developed form



or 'New Hymnary' in England, Bullough and Corrêa were concerned more with the early continental sources for these hymnals prior to the later stages which Gneuss had identified.[55] Their interpretation of the early manuscript tradition required what some would call, 'reversed methods of thinking.' That is, many of the hymns which Gneuss categorized as standard in ninth- and tenth-century English collections were originally composed as alternative hymns. These functioned far outside the liturgical norm, and discernible usually in only a single manuscript.[56] This has been the case for the DC and its relations to later collectars on the one hand and early sources on the other. The analysis of the All Saints and marial provisions indicate that the DC carries collects which are considered standard in the context of tenth-century liturgical books, but which were composed most certainly as 'alternative' mass sets in the early ninth-century sacramentaries. The alternative, non-Alcuin feast for Nativity BVM (DC 431 and 435) is a good example. Although it is preserved in only one ninth-century sacramentary surviving from Tours, it has survived in DC, Shf, Lf and Wp. Alternatively, the two Alcuin votive collects DC 432 and 433, shared only with the tenth-century Schaftlarn collectar [=Shf], presents the opposite situation where a votive mass, popular in the ninth century, falls out of use by the turn of the tenth.

If the 'hour-glass' figure is taken as an analogy to describe the transmission of liturgical texts between the ninth century on the one hand and the tenth century on the other, then it serves as an appropriate caricature of the relationship of the DC with its sources and its successors. It is certainly wise to keep account of the

grains of sands emptying from one bowl and filling up the other when interpreting the transmission of the formulae in the Durham Collectar.

(11) A standard for further inquiries

It is evident that the DC is unusually preoccupied with the preservation of Alcuin compositions and with formulae that are unique to the Tours sacramentaries. The strong Alcuin character is apparent in the Nativity BVM, in the Alcuin votive masses for All Saints, including the 'Exaudi dne famulos tuos', and in the 'Praesta qs' for the Assumption BVM. This evidence suggests that the earliest exemplar, i.e. the 'Ur-collectar', of the DC, used sacramentary sources in which Alcuinian and Turonian prayers were preserved.[57] The question now should be what community, aside from St. Martin of Tours, would have had access to this material either as a result of outright donations from Tours or as a concentrated program of borrowing and copying. What are the implications of this as regards the repeated correspondences between certain prayers in DC and Th2?

d) St. Denis (9 October)

DC provides a single festival for St. Denis (DC 449.92). Although somewhat significant, it is not sufficient in itself to establish a very strong St. Denis manuscript tradition behind the A.IV.19.[58] The collect 'Laetetur ecclesia tua' for this festival is unique to the Durham Collectar among the early books. Hohler has noted that it appears in one thirteenth-century missal, BL Add.15419, probably from St. Quentin-en-Vermandois.[59] But this pocket-sized book (138 x 100 mm) holds very little else in common with the DC. In comparison to the frequent correspondences in the All Saints provisions between DC and Tu1, for example, BL Add.15419, f.114r falls far short of sharing the same liturgical tradition. Similarly, its Commune Sanctorum provisions, BL Add.15419, ff.112v-113r, are singularly unremarkable in comparison to the strong associations between DC and Hy, or even less so to Th1 and Th2. Where correspondence should be high between two St. Quentin books -- that is, over the prayers for the St. Quentin feast day -- no collects are shared between DC and BL Add.15419, f.112v. One would have to conclude that the sharing of the St. Denis 'Laetetur', which Hohler has wanted to see as a direct manuscript transmission, signifies nothing more than an alternative mass set which received acceptance in a certain area of north-east France to which both DC and BL 15419 had independently kept in touch. Until more clues are discovered, the question of which area this might be remains unresolved.

In an attempt to discard completely the notion of a St. Denis tradition for the DC, a collation was made between the DC and four St. Denis manuscripts or St. Denis-influenced manuscripts. Consultations have been made to these unedited manuscripts: BN lat.2290 ('Sacramentary of St. Denis'),[60] BN lat.12052 ('Ratoldus Sacramentary'), Orleans 127 (=Wb);[61] and BN. lat.11589 and BN lat.2297, two Breton manuscripts exhibiting St. Denis rites.[62] Results show that little correspondence exists between these books and the DC, either as regards the triad of St. Denis feasts for his Vigil, Nativity, and Octave, of which DC has only the second, or as regards any of the prayers. All of the St. Denis books provide proper masses for St. Denis's vigil and feasts, and with the exception of BN 2290, a third feast for the Octave. The more standard collect for the feast of St. Denis, commonly used among all of them, is the Gregorian 'Ds qui hodierna die beatum dne virtute,' (GrTo 3636).

The fact that Tu1 offers the standard Gregorian collect and not the DC's 'Laetetur' is a warning that correspondences between two liturgical books rarely indicate a clear-cut line of transmission. The manuscript tradition behind the DC must have had recourse to other books in addition to those from Tours, one of which, at least, had preserved an alternative collect for the feast of St. Denis.

e) Pre-Sarum rite: the 'St. Amand family'

It has been argued that the St-Amand scriptorium had obtained liturgical provisions that allied it to a very early English use noted for replacing a number of prayers belonging to the Hadrianum and Gregorian Supplement with other prayers, Gelasian or otherwise. It is by no means certain that these English peculiarities were disseminated to the Continent via St-Amand. Nonetheless, the argument produced by Hohler and largely substantiated by Turner, refers to this group of manuscripts as the 'St-Amand family' on account of BN. Ms.2291, its oldest witness.[63]

The issue of an unidentified early-English rite, regarded as the predecessor of the Sarum use, poses an interesting question to the DC. Does it share prayers with books from the country where recent scholarship has claimed it was written on paleographic evidence?[64] Of the forty-six formulaic substitutions which Turner has identified as characteristic of this family, the DC shares in only one of them out of a possible four: i.e., the collect of the feast day for Sts. Pancratius, Nereus and Achilleus (DC 344.48). It follows the eighth-century Gelasians in attributing the collect 'Semper nos dne martyrum tuorum' to the feast of 12 May, an amalgamation of the feast of Nereus and Achilleus with that of Pancratius (GeS 759::GeV 873::GeG 961). Of the three remaining possibilities, the DC follows the Hadrianum in attributing 'Ds qui animae' to St. Gregory's feast (DC 334.38::GrH 137=cl); 'Protege dne populum' to the Octave of the Apostles (DC 380.65::GrH 609=pc);[65] and 'Subueniat dne plebi' to the

Admittedly, two of the twelve representatives identified by Turner as belonging to this family agree with DC in all four instances: i.e., the printed missals of Breslau (V) and Esztergom (E).[66] Until a fuller collation is possible among these three books, the evidence for attributing the DC to the entire group is insignificant and not very convincing. Consequently, one must regard the DC as standing apart from this liturgical tradition, a tradition which Hohler, at any rate, has attempted to attribute to Boniface and to England.

f) St. Benedict (11 July)

Another oddity in the DC is its single prayer 'Intercessio nos' for the Nativitas of St. Benedict (DC 395.69) assigned to the fifth Ides of July, mistakenly rubricated as V ID' KL' IULI by a scribe who also attributed a female gender to St. Benedict (e.g., s'e benedicti, an oversight which occurs more than once in this manuscript! See below, Chapter Seven, Part c). Although it is arguable that the Nativitas designation could also be a scribal error, it is equally possible that it is not; in which case, the checkered history of associating the 11 July to St. Benedict's death instead of to his translation, which is historically more accurate, is worth considering.

The feast day of St. Benedict (480-547) does not feature in the seventh-century Roman sacramentaries which were disseminated into Gallican countries with this omission. It was introduced into the liturgical calendars via the eighth-century Gelasians. The earliest surviving witness of the DC collect 'Intercessio nos dne' is the Gellone, written probably at Sainte-Croix de Meaux, c.790.[67] Originally a Gallican prayer for St. Hilary, it was attributed to St. Benedict on 11 July in the Gellone although its association with the 11 July Nativity remained at odds with the earliest martyrologies and calendars, where the 11 July was marked for the Translation, and the Nativity was reserved for 21 March.

An alternative mass set for 11 July was transferred early on to 21 March in the eighth-century Gelasians, where it was more often than not designated as Depositio. [68] By the ninth and tenth centuries, the confusion over the terminology of the double feasts of St. Benedict began to be solved in one way or another. Each solution indicated a particular manuscript tradition in which the DC did or did not share.

(1) The DC establishes its most obvious relationship with the eighth-century Gelasians where the 'Intercessio nos' is assigned to the 11 July 'Nativity'. [69] As it is acknowledged that the compiler of the DC exemplar had extracted sections from both Gregorian and Gelasian books alike, it should not be regarded exceptional that a Gelasian collect occurs here in the DC.



(2) If the question is raised concerning its relationship to the (mixed) Gregorian sacramentaries, where the Benedict festivals were introduced in the ninth century, then the DC's relation to this tradition can be defined in the following ways: (a) the DC does not share the feast of 21 March. It provides no Benedict feast between St. Gregory (12 Mar, DC 334.38) and the Annunciation BVM (25 Mar, DC 335.39), even though the vigil and and feast masses for 21 March, which eventually replaced the Fleury-mass, have been attributed on stylistic grounds to Alcuin.[70] The subsequent history of this tradition, either the two sets together or the second have associations with Corbie (BN. lat. Ms.12050) and St-Amand (BN. lat. Ms.2291) by the second half of the ninth century. (b) The DC does not share the alternative mass set for July with the collect 'Ds qui beatum Benedictum', which had a short-lived and local popularity at Reichenau, mid-ninth century.[71]

(c) The DC shares the 'Intercessio nos' collect for the 11 July 'Nativity', in addition to the absence of any other Benedict feasts, with only two ninth-century Gregorian sacramentaries.[72] The first is the Sacramentary of Senlis (Paris, Ste-Geneviève Ms.111), which contains the Gelasian mass set for the 11 July festival with the collect 'Intercesio nos'.[73] Although it preserves material readily identified as belonging to the supplemented Hadrianum which situates it within the Corbie/St-Amand group categorized by Deshusses, its use of the 'Intercessio nos' for the collect of 11 July/Nativity reveals an important distinction.[74] The second is the 'Sacramentary of Saint-Vaast of Arras (Cambrai, BM Ms.162 and 163, s.ix,2, Saint-Vaast).[75] The Alcuin masses in the second part of this

manuscript have prompted Deshusses to suggest that 'on peut se demander si le Missel d'Alcuin n'a pas exercé ici son influence directe.'[76] But the fact that the Saint-Vaast book does not carry the Alcuin masses for 21 March, and that it retains the 'Intercessio nos' for 11 July/Nativity, which as noted above, the Tours books do not have, indicate that any such statement must be made with caution. These Alcuin masses have not been sufficiently popular to replace the older prayers appearing in the St-Vaast or the Senlis sacramentary, both of which are admittedly Tours-related books. In the absence of further evidence, it would seem that at Senlis and St-Vaast, scribes were depending on many books to make their compilations. Even though one of these books happened to be that of Tours, which the scribe of the Saint-Vaast sacramentary (Cambrai, BM Ms.162-163) followed very closely at times, he had clearly incorporated a Gelasian model in his handling of the St. Benedict feasts. If the DC exemplar was copied from a book closely related to that of Saint-Vaast or of Senlis, then this would account for the general 'melting-pot' character where the Tours-books formulae are found rubbing shoulders with those of the Gelasian.

Finally, the DC provision for St. Benedict may be all the more significant if Warren's suggestion, that this 'popular Gallican festival [was] transferred to England probably in the tenth century', is correct.[77] It would place the DC as the second oldest English witness to have preserved it, second only to the original portion of the Leofric Missal (LMa 149).

An interpretation of these findings for St. Denis within the broader context of the transmission of liturgical texts can only be of a very general nature. It is quite possible for the DC not to share certain prayers belonging to the Tours and Corbie/St.Amand traditions, and yet have been compiled in a community where relations with these centers were seemingly very strong. The analysis of the St. Benedict collects have demonstrated that even the books which were directly associated with these scriptoria could incorporate material from other traditions. This is the milieu in which a book like the DC was most likely compiled. Hypothetically, the scriptorium would have acquired, or had access to, many books from Tours. But although Corbie and St. Amand were noted for their dependence on books from Tours, the DC shows no signs of affiliation with any of the special prayers associated with them. The DC must have been written at another Tours-related house (one which had fostered relations perhaps with St. Gallen and/or Reims-St. Thierry?) Its Benedict collect offers the scriptorium of Senlis or of St-Vaast as possible candidates.

g) Translation and Nativity of St. Martin (4 July and 11 Nov)

In addition to the St. Denis and St. Benedict feasts discussed above, the DC contains three other feasts that are peculiarly Gallican in origin: the Translation of St. Martin (DC 393.67) and certain prayers from the feast of St. Martin (DC 469.103-472.103), and the feast of St. Quentin (DC 453.96).[78] The oddity of the single

collect 'Sancti sacerdotis tui martini' offered on III Nones July rests on the fact that it cannot be traced to any source so far consulted. It does not form a part of the Alcuin vigil or mass sets composed for this feast day, as one might expect. Until further evidence is available, its liturgical history must remain as one of the well-kept mysteries of the DC collection. Preoccupation with St. Martin must be directed instead to the DC prayers for the feast day of St. Martin on 11 Nov where these Alcuin prayers have been transferred.

Among the prayers for the feast day of St. Martin, the DC has preserved the collect (DC 469::GrTe 3511) and second Vespers prayer (DC 470::GrTe 3516) from the Alcuin vigil mass for the 3 July; and the collect (DC 472::GrTe 3517) and second Vespers prayer (DC 471::GrTe 3521, though in inverted order) from the Alcuin mass for the 4 July feast.[79] They form the first four out of seven prayers provided in the DC for St. Martin's feast on 11 Nov. The last three are Gelasian collects, culled from the alternative collect, the super populum and alia oratio of the mass set on 11 Nov.[80]

As far as can be detected, the Alcuin set for 3 July circulated only for a limited time in the ninth century, even taking into account its occasional ascription to either the July or November feasts of St. Martin. The Alcuin vigil prayers 'Concede nobis qs' (DC 469) and 'O. et misericors ds' (DC 470) re-emerge later in the Commune sanctorum, where one or both are found in LMa, Lf and Wp.[81] The Alcuin prayers for 4 July were more popular and were associated with one or other of

St. Martin's feasts. The Leofric Missal correctly assigned the 4 July mass to the feast day in the material added during or in the aftermath of Bishop Leofric's reforms. But the two later English collectars, Lf and Wp, transferred this mass to St. Martin's feast day on 11 Nov as did the DC.[82] Th2 is unique in preserving both Alcuin masses for 3 and 4 July, assigning them to the vigil and feast respectively.

It is possible that the Alcuin prayers for 4 July in Th2 and LMc resulted from a rediscovery of Alcuin material that lay closer to the original composition, and therefore liturgically more accurate. Whether this hypothetical discovery was made in England or in north-east France can be answered with some confidence in favour of the latter. The earlier witness of the two, Th2, correctly designates the Alcuin mass to 4 July preserving the original order of the collects as Alcuin wrote it and as it appears in the Tours manuscripts.[83] The DC may have preserved the order of an early confusion which became standard in most tenth and eleventh century liturgical books. Most of the continental collectars which post-date the arrival of Alcuin's compositions retain the older Gelasian collects for St. Martin's feast on 11 Nov.[84] The tenth and eleventh century collectars from southern Germany carry only Gelasian prayers for the 11 Nov feast. As one would expect, the Augsburg manuscripts, Ag1 and Ag2, do not even attempt to carry the Translation since its Gallican nature would have proved antithetical to the strong Roman character of the Augsburg liturgy in the eleventh century.[85] But even the Freising collectars of the later eleventh century, where these Gallican festivals are preserved, do not exhibit the English and

French dependence on the Alcuin masses.[86] Unlike the All Saints prayers, the rare compositions of the ninth century for St. Martin had achieved a wider circulation only in particular areas of, for example, England and north-east France. Southern Germany was still dominated by the Gelasian books.

Preoccupation with the Gelasian collects for the St. Martin Nativity appear to be the norm also in the tenth-century St. Thierry collectar [=Th1] which pre-dates the DC. But as noted above, its successor Th2 has, independently from Th1, preserved all four of the DC's Alcuin prayers and has designated them correctly to the Translation on 4 July. It offers all three Gelasian collects for the St. Martin feast on 11 Nov, in addition to the more commonly-used Gelasian collect, 'Ds qui conspicis quia', which DC retains as a pro peccatis prayer for Quadragesima (DC 41.8). The fact that Th2 has preserved all seven, split admittedly between the 4 July and 11 Nov, of the problematic collects designated in DC to 11 Nov, signifies a liturgical tradition shared exclusively between these two manuscripts. This must be considered more fully in the next chapter.

Silhouetted against the backdrop of tenth- and eleventh-century liturgical books in England, the DC remains the earliest witness to preserve mass prayers which had been popular only locally in the mid-ninth century around Tours. After nearly a century of virtual disappearance, these Alcuin compositions became a standard feature in English liturgical books. The Durham Collectar is the only link to survive in the chain of transmission among English books between the

bleak period of 900 - 1000.

It is fairly certain, however, that the DC did not serve as the main disseminator. None of the Alcuin collects from the 3 July vigil mass (DC 469-470 for 11 Nov) survive in the later English witnesses. Another candidate, and one which may prove more likely, is the books of St. Bertin. A late tenth-century collectar-evangelistary, St. Omer, BM Ms.342bis, which was decorated by the Abbot Odbert himself (986-1007), has also transferred the 4 July mass collect, 'Ds qui populo tuo' to 11 Nov on f.57v.[87] Its survival at St. Bertin would accord very well with the special interest in this house which English ecclesiastics had given it in, for example, the composition of the Regularis Concordia which immediately preceded Odbert's reign.[88] It makes more historical sense to interpret the English transference of the 4 July collect to 11 Nov as deriving from St. Bertin and not from the Durham Collectar. Compared with the St. Bertin collectar-evangelistary and the later English books, the DC is a misfit. The comprehensive way in which it has preserved the vigil and mass sets for 3 and 4 July illuminates an unknown relationship which it may have had with the Tours sacramentaries or with the sources of the Th2 collectar. Each one of these books took great pains to preserve the full character of both of the Alcuin masses.



## Notes

1. Hohler, Tenth-Century Studies, 64ff.

2. Only Shf and Fs1, two south German collectars, offer two sets of votive prayers, none of which correspond significantly with those in DC. Th2 reassigns many of the DC votive prayers to the feast day. Among sacramentaries, see Fulda [=F], sets no.328-334, for largest repository of All Saints votives, but without significant relations to DC.

3. DC 455::GrTe 3657. Found in B.N. Ms.9430, f.208r (s.ix.ex); Tours Ms.184, f.266v (s.x.in). The complicated history of the early manuscript and its relation with its copy, has been elucidated in an important article by H. Barré and J. Deshusses, 'A la recherche du missel d'Alcuin,' EL, 82(1968), esp. 10-11. See Deshusses, Grégorien, v.3, 56ff for sequence of folios belonging to each book.

4. 'Alcuini Epistolae,' Epistolae Karolini Aevi, v.2, ed. E. Duenmiller, MGH, Epp.4 (1895; reprint 1974), ep.296, pp.454-455, and ep.250, pp.404-406; reprinted Barré and Deshusses, EL, 82, 18-19. Cf. D. Bullough, 'Alcuin and the Kingdom of Heaven: Liturgy, Theology,

and the Carolingian Age,' Carolingian Essays: Andrew W. Mellon Lectures in Early Christian Studies, ed. U.-R. Blumenthal (1983), esp.56ff, on Alcuin's innovative concepts in his treatment of the Virgin Mary in the De imagine Dei, and 66, on Alcuin's compositions of the orationes peculiares.

5. For other non-Alcuinian provisions, see esp. Fulda, sets nos.328-334; among collectars, note non-Alcuin prayers in Lf and Wp. Shf and Fs1's votive sets are also compilations of prayers other than Alcuin's.

6. Barré and Deshousse, EL, v.82, 23.

7. DC 454::GrTe 3647; cf. Deshusses, Grégorien, v.2, set no.385, for standard vigil mass for All Saints.

8. DC 456::GrTe 3652=cl. DC 457::GrTe 3655=pc. DC 458::GrTe 3656=sp; cf. Deshusses, Grégorien, v.2, set no.386, for standard festival mass for All Saints.

9. L.C. Mohlberg, ed. Das Frankische Sacramentarium Gelasianum (1939; 2nd. edn., Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen, 1/2, 1971), xcix; E.A. Lowe, CLA, v.7, no.936; A. Bruckner, Scriptoria Medii Aevi Helvetica: Denkmaler Schweizerischer Schreibkunst des Mittelalter, 1 (1935), 89-90.

10. GeS 36::DC 457::GrTc 3655. GeS 35::Do 458::GrTc 3656.

11. The fragmentary state of FrS, copied from a close relation of GeS, does not preserve any provisions for All Saints, unfortunately; but one would not expect to find them there as the exemplar of FrS is believed to pre-date GeS.

12. Cf. Alcuin All Saints masses in LMa 165, and in F 1392-96, 1397-1401. And see relevant collations in Appendix I for DC 454-458.

13. DC 460::GrTc 3662. DC 461::GrTc 3663. They occur in Tours Ms.184, f.267r. DC 460 occurs also in Modena Ms.O.II.7 as the ad populum to another votive mass, which is not attributed to Alcuin, and which is unique to Modena, beginning with the collect 'Laetetur ecclesia tua' (Tc 1887-1890). But the DC's association with 'Praesta qs o. ds', and previously, with 'Exaudi dne' indicate that the DC's relation to the Tours book is stronger than to the Modena manuscript.

14. DC 462::GrTc 1865. DC 463::GrTc 1868. Barré and Deshusses, EL, 82, 24, set no.7.

15. See note 9 above.

16. The 'Libellus' contains the following masses: 'Missa sancte marie' (Bg 37-40::GrTe 1841-44 [Alcuin]); 'in sanctorum' (two sets, the first, Bg 41-44::GrTe 1865-68 [Alcuin], and the second, Bg 45-47, which is in question here and which finds no corollary among the Gregorian books); 'de Trinitate' (Bg 48-52::GrTe 1806-10 [Alcuin]); and 'pro quemcumque cupis' (Bg 53-56::GrTe 2381-85 [Alcuin]).

17. DC 464::Bg 47=pc. DC 465::Bg 45=cl. DC 466::Bg 46=sp. DC 465: 'ut quorum gaudemus triumphis, eorum protegatur subsidiis' -- Bg 45: 'ut eorum protegatur subsidiis, quorum gaudemus triumphis'.

18. DC 464::GrH 639::GeG 1300::GeS 1055. DC 466::GrP 588::GeG 1290::GeS 1041.

19. See note 16 above.

20. DC 456::Lf 243=t::Wp 1652=t::GrTe 3652=cl.

DC 457::Lf 245=v2::GrTe 3655=pc.

DC 458::Lf 243=p::GrTe 3656=sp.

DC 460::Lf 244=s::Wp 1655=s::GrTe 3662.

DC 462::Lf 242=m::Wp 1649=m::GrTe 1865::Bg 41.

DC 463::Wp 1661=v2::GrTe 1868::Bg 44.

Wp 1661 has used the super populum (DC 463) for its v2 prayer in lieu of the collecta for All Saints (DC 457) which Lf has chosen for that same office.

21. W.H. Frere, The Leofric Collectar, v.2, xx-xxi. Other disparities are (1) DC 464 is used in both Lf and Wp as the collect for St. Lawrence, see note 18 above (DC 464::Lf 219::Wp 1540); (2) DC 466 occurs as the collect for Lauds in the Common of Many Martyrs (Lf 325::Wp 1893, p.155, which is also used in the feast day of Felicissimus and Agapitus, Wp 1893, p.138.)

22. [All Saints =v1] Lf 241::Wp 1645::GrH 1243=cl for Missa Ad Poscenda Suffragia Sanctorum. [All Saints =n] Lf 244::Wp 1657::GrTe 1887=cl for Missa Omnium Sanctorum. [All Saints =c] Lf 242::GrTe 3651=sp of Alcuin vigil mass.

23. Barré and Deshusses, EL, v.82, 23ff.

24. Cf. Deshusses, Grégorien, v.2, mass set no.18 for GrTe 1877 and 1881, occurring in Q (BN. 12050), R (BN. 2290), T3 (BN. 2291), and V2 (Cologne 137). The inclusion of G (Modena, O.II.7) should be a misprint; cf. Barré and Deshusses, EL, v.82, 25, where it is expressly excluded. The sixth witness is the important Trento codex.

25. F 1906=cl, with variant, 'per beatorum martyrum tuorum Stephani Laurentii Dyonisii Bonifatii merita gloriosa'. F 1910=ao.

26. Alcuin's letter to Fulda proves that his votive masses would have been known in this community, although the Fulda Sacramentary has not preserved it in Alcuin's original form. See Barré and Deshusses, EL, 22,n.29.

27. See discussion of LM in relation to Titus D.xxvi in Chapter Three, Part d above. DC 552::LMc 174=cl, 'Propitiare'. The other prayers in this Alcuin votive set surviving in LMc 174 are: 'Suscipiat', GrTc 1878=sc, and 'Diuina libantes', GrTc 1880=pc.

28. The collects appear in Cotton Titus D.xxvii, f.26v.

29. Deshusses, 'Sur quelques anciens livres liturgiques de Saint-Thierry, les étapes d'une transformation de la liturgie,' Saint Thierry. une abbaye du vi<sup>e</sup> au xx<sup>e</sup> siècle, ed. M. Bur (1979), 1976, 141. He also noted that the St-Rémi scribes used the Hautvillers monastic procession as a model; see above, Chapter Two, 77ff.

30. DC 552::Th2 f87v. DC 553::Th2 f87v. See Chapter Two, 80ff.

31. There is no indication that DC ever had a corrector, so that a mistake of this magnitude would not have corrected; see Chapter Seven, Part (c).

32. Cf. C. Hohler, Tenth-Century Studies, 62. He only notes the discrepancy shared by DC and LM(a), and attributes its position in the DC, plausibly enough, to a desire to emphasize the marial feasts by associating them with the feasts of Christ in the Temporal. Cf. the Leofric Collectar which groups temporal and sanctoral feasts in alternating series; but the methodology here is quite different, see Frere, Leofric Collectar, v.2, xxii.

33. Regularis Concordia, ed. and trans. T. Symons (1953), 31; Purification: 'Inde reuertentes canant antiphonas quae adsunt usquequo ueniant ante portam ubi, decantata antiphona "Responsum accepit Symeon," dicatur oratio "Erudi qs Dne", post quam ingrediantur ecclesiam canentes' responsum "Cum inducerent Puerum"; cf. 'Aelfric's letter to the monks of Eynsham,' ed. M. Bateson, 180.

34. Collectars easily accommodated the matutinales and vespertinales prayers; see most recent comments by E. Adda, L'Orazionale dell' Arcidiacono Pacifico, 53.

35. 'Ds qui [de] beatae' is missing in FrR.

36. Wb was written at Winchcombe in the last years of the tenth century. Collation of the incipits with an introduction is awaiting publication by Fr. Anselme Davril. My thanks are extended to Père Gy of the Saulchoir Couvent in Paris, for lending me his copy of Davril's work, Paris, Dec., 1987.



37. DC 335::LMa 71::Wb 954. See apparatus in Deshusses, Grégorien, v.1, for variants over the omission of de. The Fulda Sacramentary adds mariae, but not all Gregorian witnesses. Wp 1449 also omits the de, but in light of the Lf collect with de, and bearing in mind the close associations between these two manuscripts, it is conceivable that the Wp scribe overlooked it.

38. See below, 193ff. Cf. Hohler, 'The Type of Sacramentary used by St. Boniface,' Sankt Bonifatius, ed. Raabe (1954), 89-93; D.H. Turner, The Missal of the New Minster, Winchester (HBS, 93, 1962), xivff.

39. See collation table in Appendix 1 for DC 412.80. The secreta occurs also in the ninth-century Baturich Collectar (FrB 93, for the Nativity BVM), whose eccentric character has been discussed in Chapter Two, 62ff.

40. DC 411::Lf 221=v1::Wp 1555=v1. For DC 412, see note 39 above. Lf and Wp do not retain the secreta of the vigil mass. See collation table for DC 413.80 in Appendix I.

41. DC 414::GrH 661=adcl. DC 415::GrH 662=cl. DC 416::GrH 663=sc

42. DC 417::GrTc 3432=cl. DC 434::GrTc 3436=sp.

43. LMa 70=cl, where is preserved the entire Alcuin votive mass:  
GrTc 3432=cl::LMa 70=cl. GrTc 3433=sc::LMa 70=sc. GrTc 3435=pc::LMa  
70=pc.

44. DC 417::Th2 f72v. DC 434::Th2 f74v.

45. DC 431::GrTc 3587 [Tu1] belongs traditionally to the antiquated Paduan sacramentary (GrP 652) from which the Tours sacramentary is likely to have lifted the basic structure of its mass set, since the super oblata and ad complendum (relegated to an alternative ad compl in the Tours) are taken from that source also, GrTc 3589::GrP 653 and GrTc 3592::GrP 655, respectively.

46. DC 435::GrTc 3593=sp::GeS (683=sp, for the Annunciation).

47. DC 431::GrTc 3587=cl. DC 435::GrTc 3593=sp. These collects are unique to Tours in this context.

48. This mass set, beginning with 'Concede nos famulos tuos' (Tc 1841-44) forms part of the Beigaben 'Libellus', the earlier material added c.830 to the empty folios which preceded St. Gallen Ms.348, f.24 (Bg 37-40), already noted to contain a large amount of Alcuinian texts (see text above, 172ff.).

49. DC 434::GrTe 3436 [Alcuin] from set no.336. Its circulation among the collectars has been more successful; it occurs in Lf and Wp and Th2 for the Nativity; see text above, 189.

50. Lf 228=s::Wp 1585=s::GrTe 3588=ao. Otherwise, the prayers follow DC, except for the absence of the two Alcuin votive prayers for a marial feast and of the final Gelasian prayer:

DC 429::Lf 226=m + p::Wp 1575=m + p::GrH 680.

DC 430::Lf 227=v1::Wp 1578=v1::GrH 681.

DC 431::Lf 228=t::Wp 1582::GrTe 3587 (Tu1).

DC 434::Lf 230=v2::Wp 1592=v2::GrTe 3436=sp (Alcuin).

DC 435::Lf 229=n::Wp 1588=n::GrTe 3593 (Tu1).

51. Frere, The Leofric Collectar, v.2, xxii; Hohler, Tenth-Century Studies, 70, and n.37. The quiet plea for a St. Bertin litany in Th2 made by J.O. Bragança, 'Prières liturgiques à la Vierge aux Xe-XIe siècles,' De Cultu Mariano Saeculis VI-XI, 4(1972), 232-233, may offer a tentative explanation for the its circulation if it was disseminated from this influential house.

52. Shf f.43r::GrH 680::DC 429.

Shf f.43r::GrH 681::DC 430.

Shf f.43r::GrTe 3587::DC 431.

Shf f.69r::GrTe 1841::DC 432.

Shf f.69r::GrTe 1844::DC 433.

Shf f.69v::GrTe 3593::DC 435.

53. Cf. prayers for Nativity in FrS and FrP, the dates of which precede the fervor of liturgical composition at the turn of the eighth century.

54. D.A. Bullough and A.L.H. Corrêa, 'Texts, Chant and the Chapel of Louis the Pious,' paper presented at the conference, 'Charlemagne's Heir: New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious,' held in Pembroke College, Oxford, March 23-27, 1986 (publ. forthcoming).

55. H. Gneuss, Hymnar und Hymnen im Englischen Mittelalter (1968).

56. Bullough and Corrêa, 'Texts, Chant and the Chapel of Louis the Pious,' esp.5ff, and their treatment of Cologne Dombibl. Ms.106, Dusseldorf Universitätsbibl. Cod. B 3, and Manchester, John Rylands University Library Ms.116.

57. This is not to argue that the A.IV.19 was copied directly from a sacramentary. The fact that no corrector seemed to have proof-read the scribe's work (see Chapter Seven, Part c) offers evidence to the contrary. It is more likely that it is a copy of a collectar whose earliest source, the Ur-collectar, preserved material that had strong affiliations with Tours.

58. This is contrary to remarks made by Wormald, EEMF, 43; and Hohler, Tenth-Century Studies, 219,n.8. Frere, The Leofric Collectar, v.2, xii, will go only so far as to observe cautiously that the additions to the DC's 'kalendar show the influence of France, e.g. the Translation of St. Martin (July 4), the Fleury festival of St. Benet (July 11), and St. Denys (October 9).' But Frere is incorrect about attributing the St. Benedict collect, which is preserved in the DC, to Fleury (see below note 68).

59. Hohler, Tenth-Century Studies, 219,n.8, where 'Laetetur' occurs for St. Denis in BL. Add.15419, f.111v.

60. Collated as manuscript 'R' in Deshusses, Grégorien, v.2; described ibid, v.3, 34-35.

61. Now edited with collation tables in an unpublished article by A. Davril, see note 36 above. Hohler, Tenth-Century Studies, 62-63,n.6, claims that it is an English arrangement of a St. Denis book; but Davril has noted strong Fulda and St. Amand associations in the sanctoral.

62. Cf. Hohler, Tenth-Century Studies, 65,nn.22-23.

63. Hohler, Sankt Bonifatius, 89-93; Turner, The Missal of New Minster, xiv,ff. Liturgical scholarship would benefit, on the whole, if another word with weaker associations to any particular scriptorium were chosen to describe this family. Until further evidence is presented, I would offer simply, 'an early English rite'.

64. Brown, EEMF, 15, 37-39, argues for south-west England based on paleographical evidence and ornamentation.

65. DC 380 occurs in GeS 984 as the super populum, where, if it had served as the DC source, it would have appeared third in the DC series. Note that the third collect in the DC set 'O. s. ds qui nos beatorum' is a Gelasian borrowing from the aliae orationes for the Nativity of the Apostles, DC 391::GeS 966.

66. Breslau Missal, edn. of 1505, cited by W.H.I. Weale and H. Bohatta, Bibliographia Liturgica. Catalogus Missalium (London, 1928), 278. Esztergom Missal, edn. of 1501, cited by Weale and Bohatta, ibid, 251.

67. DC 395::GeG 1233. J. Deshusses and J. Hourlier, 'Saint Benoît dans les livres liturgiques,' Le Culte et les reliques de saint Benoît et de sainte Scholastique (Studia Monastica, 21.1-11, 1979), no.60, probably written at Sainte-Croix de Meaux, c.790. See note in Chapter Two, n.27.

68. Deshusses and Hourlier, Studia Monastica, 161-162, suggest that a Fleury scribe composed this alternative mass, with collect 'O. aeterne ds qui per gloriosa'. It occurs in Gellone as alia missa on 11 July, and in the Gelasian portion of Autun 19, transferred to 21 March as Transitus. This is probably where Dewick made his error (see above note 58); the DC does not use the collect 'O. aeterne ds', nor the 21 March feast, but preserves the older prayer, derived from the Gallican feast for St. Hilary.

69. GeS 995::GeG 1233::BN. lat. Ms.9493::Zurich Rh. 30.

70. Cf. Deshusses and Hourlier, Studia Monastica, 165-166, and no.36. Vigil collect: 'Concede nobis qs dne alacribus' of mass set GrTc 3455-3457. 'O. s. ds qui hodierna luce carnis eductum ergastulo' of mass set GrTc 3463-3467.

71. Deshusses and Hourlier, Studia Monastica, 166, and no.36. Cf. GrTc 3537, for Vienna Ms.1815.

72. The 'Sacramentary of St. Amand,' BN. lat. Ms.2291, preserves the 'Intercessio nos' as an alia oratio (GrTc 3544) to an essentially Gelasian mass with a unique collect, 'O. S. ds qui per...subsequamur.' This same mass set is also preserved in Fulda (F 1133-36); cf. A. Davril, 'Le sacramentaire Winchcombe' (unpublished), 3.8ff.



73. Written before 880 at Senlis, not at Paris, cf. Deshusses, Grégorien, v.1, 41, corrected in Deshusses and Hourlier, Studia Monastica, 200, nos.77 and 78.

74. Deshusses, Grégorien, v.1, 73-74 (cf. GrH 170\*); v.2, 23.

75. Deshusses and Hourlier, Studia Monastica, no.15.

76. Deshusses, Grégorien, v.1, 35.

77. Warren, The Leofric Missal, lvii. The feasts of St. Benedict are not celebrated in either Lf or Wp.

78. Cf. comments of Warren on later additions to LMc, lvii: 'strong Gallican influence is still visible in the addition of St. Giles (Sept. 1), the Translation (July 4), and the Octave (Nov 20) of St. Martin; SS. Dionysius, Rusticus, Eleutherius (Oct. 9), St. Lazarus, legendarily connected with Marseilles (Aug. 18).' The provisions for St. Martin on 11 Nov (feast day), DC 469-475.103, also retain Gallican influences, see discussion below.

79. GrTc 3511-3516, vigilia missa Alcuini; GrTc 3517-3521, natale missa Alcuini. The occurrence of Natale, and not 'Translatio', in the rubric may have accounted for the confusion and subsequent transference of these masses to 11 Nov. Note that the entire Alcuin

mass set for 4 July (GrTe 3517-3521) is appended as an alia missa to the standard Gregorian mass (GrH 748-750) for 11 Nov in Paris Ste-Geneviève 111 (GrH 296\* - 299\*).

80. DC 473::GeS 1323=sp. DC 474::GeS 1319=cl, but ordinarily an alternative collect to the standard 'O. s. ds solemnitate' used in all other witnesses. DC 475::GeS 1324=ao.

81. DC 469::LMa (172), Common of Holy Confessors, vigil.

Lf (307), Common of Apostles, vigil.

Wp (2013), Common of a Martyr, vigil.

DC 470::Lf (328), Common of a Confessor.

Generally, Commune Sanctorum prayers are derived from the Sanctoral; cf. Ag2's Common of an Apostle::St. Andrews.

82. DC 471::LMc 254=ao, 4 July, trans.

Lf (328), Common of a Confessor

Wp 1678=v2, 11 Nov, nat.

DC 472::LMc 253=cl, 4 July, trans.

Lf 248=v2, 11 Nov, nat.

Wp 1681=v2, " "

83. Including both Tu1 and Tu2 and also a St. Amand witness, Reims, BM Ms.213, see Chapter Five below, 236-37.

84. The pre-tenth-century continental collectars omit the Translation and often, the feast of St. Martin (cf. FrP, s.ix.ex; FrB, s.ix.1.). The OP is the first collectar, pre-dating the DC, to provide for the Nativity of St. Martin, offering, as one would expect, one of the three Gelasian collects, DC 475::OP 99::GeS 1324=ao.

85. F.A. Hoeynck, Geschichte der Kirchlichen Liturgie des Bistums Augsburg (1889), 36-37.

86. Cf. Fs1 for Translation of St. Martin, Translation of St. Benedict (July), the feast days of St. Denis and St. Quentin. Cf. Fs2 for the Translation of St. Martin, the March feast of St. Benedict and his Translation on 4 July, and the feast day of St. Denis.

87. Gy, RSPTh, 451, and n.82, describes St. Omer Ms.342bis as 'le plus ancien évangélaire à collectes que nous avons rencontré...mais la table des capitula révèle un modèle plus ancien (viii<sup>e</sup>-ixe s.?)'. Noted in Gamber, CLLA, no.1545; and in Scriptorium, 1949. I possess a microfilm of the manuscript kindly supplied by the conservateur of St. Omer BM. Note also collectar-evangelistaries of Jumièges in R.-J. Hesbert, 'Les Manuscrits liturgiques de Jumièges,' Jumièges Congrès Scientifique du XIIIe centenaire, 2 (Rouen, 1956), 855-872.

88. T. Symons, 'Regularis Concordia: History and Derivation,'  
Tenth-Century Studies, 45-48.

## Chapter Five

### Liturgical genealogy of the DC: peculiar prayers as clues

Having reviewed the more peculiar prayers in the DC and the liturgical history associated with them, it is necessary to re-examine them for specific information. This is not so much an attempt to identify the scriptorium of the DC exemplar, as a preliminary effort to define the limits of liturgical borrowings which could or could not have affected the DC. The most important issues involve the possible relationships between the DC exemplar and a religious community whose books were closely related to the Alcuin compositions, and between certain prayers in the DC and their correspondences with those in the later St. Thierry collectar [=Th2].

Recent studies concerning the earliest part of the Leofric Missal (=L<sub>Ma</sub>) and Reims 214 have argued that St. Thierry was affected by the liturgy of Saint-Vaast of Arras in the late ninth century, a community whose sacramentary, Cambrai, BM Ms.162-163, harbours an important collection of Alcuin material. This is relevant to the liturgical traditions lying behind the DC in that the DC preserves certain structural idiosyncracies which exist also in L<sub>Ma</sub>, a representative of the late ninth-century liturgy of Saint-Vaast. In addition, the DC shares a strikingly high percentage of prayers with the early eleventh-century St. Thierry collectar. These attributes and their implications will now be considered in greater detail.

This inquiry is based on an argument proposed by Deshusses some ten years ago concerning evidence for attributing the original c.900 portion of the Leofric Missal [=L<sub>Ma</sub>] to Saint-Vaast of Arras, a proposal to which certain English scholars would however take exception.[1] Deshusses has argued for an infiltration of liturgical formulae from Arras to St. Thierry as early as the beginning of the tenth century. This theory depends on the similarity of the super populum prayers between L<sub>Ma</sub> and Rheims 214, a sacramentary written at St. Thierry, for St. Thierry, in the later years of the tenth century. These prayers significantly form no part of the professed exemplar of Rheims 214, a sacramentary written at St. Amand, c.870 for Rheims (=Rheims 213), and given probably to Hincmar of Rheims very soon thereafter.[2] The regular addition of this fifth prayer to the mass set in Rheims 214 and the correspondence which these prayers invariably carry both textually and structurally to L<sub>Ma</sub> and to a third sacramentary, Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Ms.A.263, has indicated to Deshusses and to Heiming, the editor of the 'Milan Fragment', that some kind of book borrowing was taking place in the early years of the tenth century between Saint-Vaast and St. Thierry.[3]

By far the most serious implications of the Deshusses proposal is that it allies St. Thierry with Arras, an apparently very powerful and productive writing center by the turn of the ninth century. Of the three books attributed to Arras, the Leofric Missal (the only one to have received an edition) corresponds to a limited extent with the DC over certain peculiar and rare collects.[4] As will be shown, this L<sub>Ma</sub>::DC correspondence is by no means comprehensive. By comparison, the eleventh-century St. Thierry collectar, Th2, shares many more of

the peculiar prayers. Nonetheless, the relationship between LMa and the St. Thierry sacramentary (Rheims 214) may represent the liturgical sources available at St. Thierry for books compiled there over a century later.

Certainly some explanation must be given to account for the discrepancies between the two St. Thierry collectars, Th1 (the imported one) and its copy, Th2.[5] For example, the Alcuin alternative mass for All Saints (DC 455, 460-61::GrTc 3657-63, of which Th1 has DC 460), the Alcuin votive for the vigil mass to a marial feast (DC 417, 434::GrTc 3432-36), and the Alcuin masses for the vigil (DC 469-70::GrTc 3511-16) and feast (DC 472, 471::GrTc 3517-22) of St. Martin's Translation, all of which appear in Th2, do not occur in Th1. Moreover, since DC and Th2 are unique in sharing the same problematic masses which are not preserved in any other manuscripts outside of the Tours books, it is worth considering the implications of the St. Thierry link with Saint-Vaast for possible source material for DC. Given that Deshusses has been struck by the regularity of the correspondences between LMa and the St. Thierry sacramentary (=Rheims 214), the central issue for this chapter will be to measure the extent of the correspondences between DC and Th1, and to identify those cases where LMa follows suit.

It was shown in Chapter Four that the collects for All Saints in the DC contain three problematic areas. The first, the 'Exaudi dne' (DC 455), has been situated within the context of the Alcuin sacramentary at Tours. The second which involves the collects from



the first votive set in DC, remains unresolved. Although it is certain that this set consists of two of the aliae orationes belonging to the 'Exaudi dne' mass set (DC 460 and 461), a third collect the 'Adesto ds' (DC 459) does not concur with the third alia oratio in that set.[6] The third problem concerns the last three collects of the DC's second votive set. The suggestion has tentatively been made in the previous chapter that they represent another votive mass, possibly composed by Alcuin, certainly in use at Tours. This assumption is based on the evidence of its alliance in DC with two collects belonging to an Alcuin votive mass, and is reinforced by the occurrence of both sets in the Beigaben (Bg 41-47), where these three unidentified collects in DC occur as the post-communion, collect and secret, respectively (Bg 47,45,46). Nonetheless, the author of this set (DC 464-466) still requires further verification, and no further conclusions can be drawn until additional evidence is supplied.

As noted in the last chapter (p.175), Th2 offered important evidence on all three of these problematic areas. The eight collects for the feast of All Saints in Th2 include all the more rare and difficult collects preserved in DC. The third collect in the series is in fact the 'Exaudi dne', and this is followed very neatly by 'Adesto ds', 'Maiestat1 tue', and 'Praesta qs', the three collects of the DC's first votive set (DC 459-61). Following an interruption of two chapters, two of the collects from DC's unidentified votive set occur (DC 465 and 466). Two observations are of great interest here. First, the All Saints collects in Th2 introduce a different range of material from that preserved in its professed exemplar, Th1. This offers further evidence that Th2's dependence on Th1 is much less than

scholars have admitted.[7] The earlier St. Thierry collectar, Th1, does not carry the 'Exaudi dne', nor the two votive collects 'Adesto ds' and 'Praesta qs' (DC 455,465,466), all of which belong in fact to the same Alcuin votive mass (GrTc 3657-3663). Clearly, another source exhibiting a close alliance with Tours was among the sources used to compile the second collectar for St. Thierry in the early eleventh century.

The second point, which justifies the discussion of this issue here, involves the DC's relation with the Leofric Missal. If the Arras theory for supplying alternative material to St. Thierry is viable, then one would expect to observe some correspondence between DC, Th1 and LMa, particularly as regards these more peculiar prayers. But in fact, the results are disappointing. Other than providing the standard Alcuin vigil and feast mass for All Saints, the LMa is silent on any further prayers, Alcuin or otherwise. Clearly, this discrepancy separates DC from LMa, and suggests that either the source for these Alcuin prayers in the DC did not come directly from Saint-Vaast, or that the Alcuin prayers were added later to a Saint-Vaast base.

Some other source than a book from Saint-Vaast must have supplied Th2 with the Alcuin mass beginning with 'Exaudi dne' (DC 455) and including two of its aliae orationes (DC 460,461). This source must also have accounted for the introduction of a third alia oratio, 'Adesto ds' (DC 459), which does not belong to the original Alcuin votive as we know it. As noted above, Th2 shares all four of these

rare prayers with DC (see collation table). The order of these differs, since DC separates the 'Exaudi' collect from its alia oratio, placing it before the standard Alcuin mass set. This indicates that DC and Th2 represent two different compilations, although they would have been closely related; and the order of the collects in Th2 would place that later copy closer to the original source than that of DC.

The analysis cannot go much further. In light of these renewed inquiries concerning the relationship of the St. Thierry collectar to DC as regards All Saints, it is apparent that the issue of source material is very complex. In spite of the influence of the Arras liturgy at St. Thierry, which Deshusses correctly claims was an essential source for the compilation of the late tenth-century sacramentary of St. Thierry (Rheims 214), some other source has influenced the making of the St. Thierry collectar in the beginning of the next century. This same material has been discovered in the DC exemplar. This much the All Saints collects in DC and Th2 have demonstrated.

The two DC collects (DC 552 and 553) for the Common of a church dedicated to a particular martyr or confessor, offer much-needed evidence for its relation with certain English houses. DC 552 and 553 correspond to the collect and super populum of the Alcuin mass. The circulation of this mass on the Continent is sufficiently wide to discourage associating it with any particular locality. Confronted with this popularity, it is difficult to set out the parameters of the

manuscript transmission for the DC. Nonetheless, it is possible to establish limits of time. If it is true that the prayers only survived in a modified form from the late tenth century onward, and that the DC is acknowledged to have been written in the first quarter of that century, then the prayers would have had to be introduced into the corpus of the DC exemplar from a sacramentary closely related to the first generation of Alcuin manuscripts. In this respect, the DC exemplar could be described as one of the last repositories on the Continent of the unmodified Alcuin texts, a characteristic which the DC has consistently followed in other areas.

In relating this to England, the mass never achieved as wide a circulation. None of the prayers of that set appear in Lf or Wp, although they do occur in LMc, the additions made to the Leofric Missal contemporaneously with the compilations of Lf and Wp. The received version preserved the original or antiquated version as represented in DC. It is possible that LMc derived its mass set from Winchester; but it would be difficult to account for the missing super populum. This prayer (DC 553) has been preserved in the collectar portion from the commonplace book of Abbot Aelfwine of Hyde Abbey [=Hy] compiled in the previous generation within its standard Common of a Confessor (Hy f.26r), along with DC 552.

But had the Alcuin collects for this Common arrived at Winchester within a collectar or within the mass set as Alcuin had written it? This is a key question which would help to determine the English scriptorium where the DC exemplar eventually arrived. I would argue

that it arrived at Winchester embedded within a collectar text. This would explain its limited circulation, and it would also account for its appearance in LMc without the super populum prayer. The abbreviated set in LMc suggests that the source for this votive mass addition is likely to have been transmitted a second time into England, possibly as a result of Bishop Leofric's Lotharingian education where he resided until c.1042.[8] This would account for the fact that the prayers are missing in Lf and Wp, and would imply that the LMc additions were made after the compilation of Lf. Until further evidence is provided, it is arguable that the DC exemplar was one of the earliest books to transmit the Alcuin collects across to England (but not the mass). The correspondences between Hy and DC on this issue and on many others in their respective Commune Sanctorum suggest that the exemplar of the Durham Collectar was brought to Winchester, where it could have served as the model for both the DC and later Hy.[9]

The inexplicable position of the Purification festival in the Temporal of the DC cannot be overlooked.[10] The Leofric Missal places it there also, along with the Annunciation. This does not prove that the DC scribe knew of the Leofric book, which is claimed to have arrived in England, c.900. But it would indicate that the scribes of LMa and the DC exemplar were following the same arrangement of a liturgical book from continental sources.

Hohler has attempted to discard the significance of this correspondence; but in doing so, he has misinterpreted the relationship and function of these service-books. He has correctly noted that LMa (and the New Minster Missal) celebrate two feasts on 2 February: the first, 'Candlemas' (i.e., the Presentation), is represented by the special benediction 'O. ds qui unigenitum suum hodierna die in assumpta carne in templo'; and the second, 'Lady Day' (i.e., the Purification), is represented by the Gregorian stational collect 'Erudi qs dne' and its collect 'O. s. ds maiestatem'. Although it is textually accurate to claim that DC does not offer formulae for the first feast, it is wrong to interpret this, as Hohler does, as a critical variant between DC and LMa.[11] As it is not in the nature of the collectar to carry benedictions of the mass, but to copy only certain collects, one should not expect the Presentation benediction to appear in DC. To expect it and to cite it as a major source difference between DC and LMa is a misunderstanding of the relationship between the collectar and the sacramentary.

The fact that DC has followed the LMa arrangement of the separate sanctoral has encouraged Hohler regrettably to emphasize the English aspect of this attribute, claiming that LMa has the earliest surviving separate sanctoral in England, to which 'all the other Anglo-Saxon missals conform.'[12] But the evidence from the early continental representatives have not fully been taken into account. The Sacramentary of Echternach, (BN lat. Ms.9433), re-dated recently to 895-900,[13] presents a separate sanctoral within the body of a continental book genuinely attributed to a Luxembourg house which pre-dates the LMa. Aside from the impact which the re-dating will

have on the spurious claim for LMa as the earliest (now second oldest) European book with a separate sanctoral, the evidence from the Sacramentary of Echternach in fact localizes this practise within a north-east area of France. It strengthens further the arguments of Warren, and recently of Deshusses and Gneuss, for attributing LMa to north-east France. It presents a strong argument for attributing the DC exemplar to this area as well.[14]

Although the possible north-east French origins for a separate sanctoral does not directly resolve the occurrence of the Purification in the Temporal, it suggests tentatively that this particular arrangement was followed in a certain locality there. The DC's exemplar may be reflecting a north-east French sacramentary in the placement of its Purification feast; I would argue a sacramentary of Saint-Vaast, since LMa places it also in the Temporal. Hypothetically one might suggest that under the influence of his continental exemplar, and given a limited time in which to copy it, the English scribe of the DC hastily copied the Purification within the Temporal where he had found it in his exemplar.

The DC shares the variant reading in the Annunciation collect (DC 335) with LMa and the Winchcombe Sacramentary among tenth-century English books, as noted in the previous chapter (p.182). The variant is sufficiently widespread among ninth-century Gregorian witnesses, to discourage any association among these tenth-century books. It is certainly worth bearing in mind, however, that this variant reading is not represented in the Tours and Tours-influenced sacramentaries, nor



in the St. Thierry books.[15] As regards LMa, it reiterates its independence from a total Tours-domination at St-Vaast of Arras (if one was ever under the illusion that it had prevailed there to the extent that it had at St-Amand and Corbie). It also implies that the DC exemplar received other prayers that were outside of the very influential body of prayers emanating from Tours.

The Alcuin votive collect 'Praesta qs o. ds' (DC 417::GrTc 3432) for the Assumption in the DC is so unusual that it is bound to shed more light on the relationship of DC with St. Thierry and with Arras. It occurs in both DC and Th2 for the Assumption (DC 417::Th2 f72v), and in LMa, along with the secret and post-communion, for the vigil mass of the Purification (LMa 70::GrTc 3433, 3434). It is crucial to note that LMa has discarded the Gregorian secreta in both vigil and feast of the Assumption (LMa 154-155): 'Munera nostra' has replaced the Gregorian 'Magna est dne' for the vigil, and 'Intercessio qs' has replaced 'Subueniat dne' in the Gregorian mass for the day. These substitutions situate LMa outside of the DC tradition, which has faithfully followed the Hadrianum at this point and Th2 has followed suit.[16] Furthermore, the super populum of the Alcuin votive mass, 'Beatae mariae semper uirginis' (GrTc 3436), can be found in both DC (DC 434) and Th2 (f.74v) among the prayers for the Nativity of the BVM, joined here by the two later English collectars, Lf 230 and Wp 1592.

This Alcuin votive mass (GrTc 3432-3436) has survived among the ninth-century sacramentaries only in Tu1. This connection to the important Tours sacramentary recalls a similar situation involving the 'Exaudi nos famulos tuos' of All Saints, although the 'Beatae mariae' apparently enjoyed a wider circulation in Lf and Wp. The source of these peculiar prayers has consistently shown unusually strong affiliations with the compositions of Alcuin at Tours. It is commonly acknowledged that St-Vaast had access to Alcuin material.[17] This could explain how the scribe of LMa was familiar with the Alcuin votive mass in its entirety. But the Saint-Vaast tradition could not account for the placement of the 'Praesta qs' in the Assumption in both DC and Th2. It is arguable that at some later stage of transmission, this Alcuin votive mass was introduced into the prayers of the DC exemplar and Th2 quite independently from Saint-Vaast.

As noted in the previous chapter (pp.185-186), the prayers for the BVM Nativity in the DC represents a hybrid of several liturgical traditions which, it must be admitted, is typical of compilations for liturgical books. But when an otherwise haphazard collection in the DC is discovered to concur with prayers for the BVM Nativity in the St. Thierry collectar, Th2, it becomes even more convincing that these two manuscripts may have shared a common source. As regards the Alcuin votive mass for a marial feast, to which DC 432 and 433 belong (GrTc 1841, 1844), the significant facts are: (1) the tradition lying behind the English witnesses Lf and Wp was not familiar with the votive mass in spite of an awareness of one other Alcuin votive mass for a marial vigil (GrTc 3432-36), and with the alternative Nativity mass compiled at Tours (GrTc 3587-93);[18] (2) The Alcuin votive mass

(GrTo 1841-44) does not occur in LMa, the representative of the Saint-Vaast liturgy; and (3) it received some limited circulation as a proper votive mass in isolated cases such as in the tenth-century collectar from Schaftlarn [=Shf]. The unique feature of these prayers as regards DC and Th2 is the way in which both have used them. Both have included them for the Nativity BVM prayers, rather than for any other marial festival.

The prayers indicative of the pre-Sarum rite offer no precise clues for the liturgical history of the DC. As noted above, the DC carries four possibilities, only one of which offers the Gelasian alternative for Sts. Pancratius, Nereus and Achilleus (DC 344.48; see above, p.193). This 1:4 ratio was noted as placing DC outside the pre-Sarum tradition, although this was not entirely conclusive since two sixteenth-century printed missals from Germany presented matching figures. Lf and Wp appear also to lie outside this tradition but for different reasons. These later English collectars provide a Gelasian alternative for the post-communion of the Octave of the Apostles (Lf 204, Wp 1524); but unlike DC, Wp 1789 follows the Gregorian for the feast of St. Pancratius.

In the single exception where the DC follows the pattern of the pre-Sarum witnesses, it concurs with the Leofric Missal (LMa 142). Each offers the Gelasian collect 'Semper nos dne' (DC 344) for the combined feast on 12 May for Sts. Pancratius, Nereus and Achilleus. While this may link DC and LMa to the same general family, far more critical is their disagreement over the secreta of the Assumption.

Following the ninth-century St-Amand sacramentary (BN 2291) and the Fulda Sacramentary, among others from this family, LMa has substituted 'Intercessio qs' for the usual Gregorian secreta in an otherwise standard Gregorian set.[19] Although certain shared characteristics (cf. the Purification placement and the separate sanctoral, and the Sts. Pancratius-Achilleus collect), link DC and LMa to a very early liturgical tradition -- possibly from Saint-Vaast -- which not even the St. Thierry books have preserved since they are of a later date, the divergence over the Gelasian/Gregorian secreta for the Assumption separates DC from any direct association with the Saint-Vaast liturgy.

DC and LMa are the two oldest witnesses in England to have provided an 11 July festival for St. Benedict. Significantly, both of these early English books have transported the Gelasian collect 'Intercessio nos' (DC 395::GeS 995), and in the case of LMa, the Gelasian mass for 11 July. The LMa mass corresponds with the St. Benedict mass provided in Cambrai 162-163, and gives an important indication of the ninth-century liturgy at St-Vaast. This 11 July festival is described in LMa as the Translatio of St. Benedict; it carries the Nativity on 21 March supplied with an Alcuin mass that is not preserved in Cambrai 162-163.

The DC does not carry the 21 March feast for St. Benedict and ignores the 'Translatio' rubric for 11 July, to which DC has assigned Natale. These are important divergences from the Saint-Vaast liturgy as represented in LMa. It is arguable that the DC represents an older tradition of the St. Benedict masses, similar to that in Cambrai

162-163, before the Alcuin masses for 21 March had been introduced.[21] Alternatively, the community where the DC exemplar was written may have attached less importance to the St. Benedict festivals than, say, to All Saints or, as will be seen, to St. Martin, and hence did not require the extra collects which the Alcuin votive masses could supply.

The seven collects (DC 469-475) for the 11 Nov Nativity of St. Martin are notable for their non-Hadrianum character. They include four prayers (DC 469-472) attributed to Alcuin compositions for the 4 July Translation (confusingly designated as Natale in the ninth-century sources). These four prayers are also found in Th2, where, as noted in the previous chapter (p.200), they retain both the 4 July designation and the original order of the Alcuin mass (i.e., DC 472, 471). Once again, the 'professed' exemplar, Th1, does not contain them.

As possible sources for these Th2 prayers (which it shares with the DC), LMa would have been a likely candidate; but unfortunately, LMa offers no significant correspondences. The Arras material in the Leofric Missal does not include the 4 July Translation and follows the Hadrianum for the 11 Nov Nativity (LMa 166-7::GrH 748-50). The 4 July Translation does occur in the later additions to the Leofric Missal [=LMc], where it is limited to the 4 July mass and does not include the 3 July vigil.[22] But since this part of the Leofric Missal post-dates DC by over a century and Th2 by at least twenty years, the correspondence gives no evidence for establishing a tenth-century link

between St. Thierry and Arras. DC and Th2 must have obtained their Alcuin sets elsewhere, as the Arras books, including Cambrai 162-163, do not preserve them.[23] The suggestion that the litany of Th2 reflects that of St. Bertin clearly does not suffice as a possible source for the St. Martin prayers. At least one St. Bertin manuscript, the late tenth-century collectar-evangelistary of Abbot Odbert, does not preserve them.[24] An alternative source may be the ninth-century Senlis Sacramentary (Paris Ste-Geneviève 111), which also assigns the Alcuin 4 July mass (but not the vigil) to the 11 Nov Nativity (GrH 296\*-299\*). But the prayers occur here as aliae orationes following the Hadrianum mass set for 11 Nov beginning with the collect 'Ds qui conspicis'. Its obvious Hadrianum preference for the 11 Nov Nativity, combined with the missing vigil feast and the fact that it has no ties with St. Thierry, discounts Senlis as a viable source for the Alcuin material diligently preserved in DC and Th2.

Another transmitter of the Alcuin mass for 4 July is Rheims 213, the c.870 sacramentary of St-Amand, which Archbishop Hincmar of Rheims probably gave to St. Thierry by c.890.[25] With the exception of Tu1, Rheims 213 is the only ninth-century sacramentary to have preserved the Alcuin mass for the Translation (though not the vigil mass.) But this candidate has serious limitations since its 4 July mass does not preserve the collect for second Vespers (DC 471), nor any of the prayers of the 3 July vigil. It is also notable that of the St. Martin prayers preserved in Rheims 213, none correspond with those of the early St. Thierry collectar, Th1. If one accepts Deshusses's argument that Th1 was written at St. Remi, then Rheims 213 would have



been among the books available to the St. Remi scribes in the early tenth century. It is certainly rather odd, however, that Hinemar's gift was not used by the Th1 scribes. This poses some serious objections towards attributing Th1 to St. Remi, or alternatively, towards attributing the arrival of Rheims 213 to Rheims by as early as c.890. It also weakens the suggestion that St-Amand could have supplied St. Thierry with the prayers from the 3 July vigil mass.[26]

Nothing less than a Tours manuscript, or a closely-related copy, could explain the appearance in Th2 and in DC of the Alcuin vigil and mass set for St. Martin's Translation, transferred in DC to 11 Nov. A case for a common source between the two manuscripts is very likely. This must have been done independently from textual borrowings from Saint-Vaast, St-Amand or St. Bertin.

It has been shown that the Durham Collectar contains only a limited number of peculiarities of the Saint-Vaast liturgy as preserved in the Leofric Missal, the most critical of which are restricted to structural idiosyncracies. The more important collaborator with the DC over its problematic prayers is in fact the St. Thierry collectar, Th2. Granted that St. Thierry as a religious community is known to have been influenced by the Saint-Vaast books (Deshusses would argue a direct influence from the sacramentary preserved in the 'Milan Fragment'), it is conceivable that the DC exemplar had as its original or earliest source, a sacramentary from Saint-Vaast to which specific contributions were made from a copy of the 'Alcuin Missal' in use also for the Rheims/St. Thierry liturgy.



This would account for the Purification displacement which the DC shares exclusively with LMa on the one hand, and for the high number of collects from the Alcuin votive masses, which the DC shares exclusively with Th2 on the other. The limited sources for these prayers have persistently pointed towards Tours.

Other than arguing for a direct borrowing from Tours it is equally possible that the predecessors of the DC exemplar lay for a time at an intermediate community before coming to St. Thierry. This unidentified community may have possessed that influential copy of the 'Alcuin Missal' which had such a tremendous effect on the prayers in the Durham Collectar and in the later St. Thierry collectar. It is unlikely that this community was that which produced Th1, or LMa, or even the communities of Senlis or St. Bertin. This anonymous community and its liturgical books may hold the answers to other puzzles still surrounding the DC prayers, for example, the 'Laetetur ecclesia' collect for St. Denis, and the feast of St. Quentin.

But these queries take one too far into uncharted waters of liturgical book borrowing. For the moment, one must think about the implications which St. Thierry or Rheims holds for the DC as the last continental community which the DC exemplar served before being transported to England. One cannot dispute the fact that St. Thierry/Rheims is the only community which can boast of a liturgical connection with Saint-Vaast (via the 'Milan Fragment' and LMa), and of a familiarity with the Tours/Alcuin-related sacramentaries (via Rheims 213 and other unidentified sources); and it is the community where was

written the single most important collectar that had preserved so many of the more peculiar prayers of the Durham Collectar.

#### Notes

1. J. Deshusses, 'Sur quelques livres liturgiques de Saint-Thierry, les étapes d'une transformation de la liturgie,' Saint Thierry. une abbaye du vi<sup>e</sup> au xx<sup>e</sup> siècle, ed. M. Bur (1979), 142,ff. Objections would come most likely from Hohler. His last words on the subject were in 1975 (Tenth-Century Studies, 69ff.) where he attributed it to England, somewhere near Glastonbury but based on a Saint-Vaast sanctoral; D.H. Turner, The Missal of New Minster (HBS, 93, 1962), vi-vii, also attributed LMa to England, refuting Warren's earlier argument for origins in the Arras/Cambrai diocese.

2. Deshusses, Saint Thierry, 137, notes that Rheims 213 carries a reference to St. Nicaise in the 'Libera nos'.

3. O. Heiming, ed. 'Kleinere Beitrage zur Geschichte der Ambrosianischen Liturgie,' Archiv fur Liturgiewissenschaft 12(1970), 140-5, suggests a common source only between LMa and the 'Milan Fragment' and does not extend his discussion to Rheims 214. Deshusses, Saint-Thierry, 142; his argument for the Milan fragment as the manuscript responsible for bringing the Arras liturgy to St. Thierry rests solely on the evidence of a note added in the twelfth century indicating that the manuscript now resided in a church under the patronage of St. Bartholomew, the patron saint of St. Thierry.

4. Saint-Vaast books include LMa and Cambrai 162-163, and now the 'Milan Fragment'.

5. Cf. Deshusses, Saint Thierry, 141; M.-P. Lafitte, La Bibliothèque et le scriptorium de Saint-Thierry de Reims (970-1225) (unpubl. doctoral thesis, University of Paris, 1969), 177-8.

6. DC 459 does not agree with GrTc 3661, 'Sumpsimus dne pignus'.

7. Lafitte's observations in her thesis, La Bibliothèque, requires some modification; even Deshusses, Saint Thierry, 142, although acknowledging some sort of flexible interchange between the Rheims sacramentaries ('le ms. 214 depend d'autres sources encore'), fails to concede that the same relationship must exist between Th1 and Th2.

8. Warren, ed. The Leofric Missal, xx.
9. See Chapter Seven, esp. Part (d).
10. Hohler, Tenth-Century Studies, 62, considers it 'rare' to occur there. See Chapter Four above, 180.
11. Hohler, Tenth-Century Studies, 219,n.8.
12. Hohler, Tenth-Century Studies, 61, and n.5.
13. K. Gamber, Sakramentartypen (2nd edn., 1968), 58,n.2; C. Vogel, Introduction aux sources de l'histoire du culte Chrétien au Moyen Age (1975), 85, and n.287; Hohler, Tenth-Century Studies, 219n.5.
14. Warren, The Leofric Missal, xl; Deshusses, Saint Thierry, 142-143; Gneuss, Learning and Literature, 101, no.A.7.
15. Both Th1 and Th2 preserve the 'Ds qui de beatae' reading, cf. f.36v and f.62v, respectively.

16. Vigil secreta: GrH 659::DC 412::Th2 f72v. Feast secreta: GrH 663::DC 416::Th2 f72v. The 'Intercessio qs' in particular, is indicative of the 'early-English rite'; cf. Turner, The Missal of New Minster, xvi,n.25 and see the collation table, ibid, xix.

17. Deshusses, Grégorien, v.1, 35.

18. See collation tables for DC 431, 435 (::GrTc 3587, 3593) and 434 (::GrTc 3436).

19. LMa 155::GrH 197\*::F 1215.

20. Th1 and Th2 follow the Gregorian in all four instances; but note that Th1 does not carry the secreta for the Assumption, f.87r.

21. Widespread popularity never seemed to be the case for the Alcuin masses for St. Benedict, particularly those attributed to 21 March. Th2 carries only the alternative collect and post-communion (GrTc 3463 and 3469) among four other collects, two of which are found among the aliae orationes of Fulda (F 259 and 262, respectively).

22. The prayers of the 4 July mass are preserved in the English sources without the vigil mass and assigned to different feasts. Cf. Lf for the Common of an Apostle, and Wp for the Common of a Martyr.

23. The Leofric Missal additions also include the Alcuin mass set for the Octave of St. Martin (LMc 268::GrTo 3532-3535), indicating a wider eleventh-century circulation of the rare Alcuin masses.

24. Cf. J.O. Bragança, 'Prières liturgiques à la Vierge aux Xe-XIe siècles,' De Cultu Mariano Saeculis VI-XI, 4(1972), 232-233. See discussion of the St. Martin provisions in St. Omer 342bis, f.57v, in Chapter Four, 202.

25. Deshusses, Saint Thierry; see text above, 222.

26. The super populum prayer also occurs in another sacramentary that was written in England, namely the Missal of Robert of Jumièges.

## Chapter Six

### Liturgical implications of the DC in tenth-century England

Chapter Five has demonstrated that the exemplar of the Durham Collectar derived from continental sources, and in all probability, was itself a continental book. The date of the compilation of the DC exemplar could be placed no later than c.890, probably c.860-890. Before assessing the implications of this for the exemplar's arrival in England and the English response to it, I shall examine the liturgical text of the DC once more from two different standpoints. The first involves a general discussion of the nature of the DC chapters and in particular, their relationship to the chapters in the two later English collectars, Lf and Wp, whose English qualities and more sophisticated structures are obviously very strong. The second returns to the collects and their textual relationship to a little-known sacramentary fragment. The fragment is claimed to be an English manuscript, with a provenance possibly of Winchester; however, the continental affiliations are perhaps stronger than has been admitted. These two issues will help to illustrate the non-English attributes which the DC has retained from its exemplar. If it is true that the sacramentary fragment was first received at Winchester, then it serves as yet another indicator of the way continental books were moving towards this community in the tenth century.



#### 6.a) Structure and content of the DC chapters

The structure of the capitula (or chapters) in the DC represents one of the more primitive collections. In the developed collectars of Lf and Wp, and in the early tenth-century collectar of Stephen of Liège, the short biblical lessons are copied sequentially within each office, as if in an early type of missal.[1] By contrast, the capitula in the DC are separated entirely from the corresponding collects. They are placed in alternating groups before the collects for each feast for which they are offered, with the exception of a slight complication in the weeks preceding Lent. Here, two groups of chapters for Septuagesima (DC 31-33.6) and Sexagesima (DC 34-39.7) cover only one group of collects for the weeks before Lent (DC 40-48.8).[2] This method of alternating capitula and collects is not often found among collectars from the tenth century onwards.[3] Only three collectars other than DC preserve this: Fs1, Fs2, Th2, and a fourth may possibly have been the unknown Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibl. Cod. Frgm.13 (from Inc.3513) [=Sw1], dated to the turn of the eleventh century.[4] It was more common among the later European collectars to group the capitula together and place them, as a true 'Liber Capitularis', at the beginning of the book, after which followed the 'Liber Collectae', or an uninterrupted sequence of collects. The more important representatives of this method are: Th1, Shf, Ag1 and Ag2.[5]

The capitula in the DC form a significantly smaller part of the manuscript in relation to the collects. Aside from the chapters assigned to each of the sections in the Commune Sanctorum, only the major feasts in the Temporal and Sanctoral have them. This restricted allocation of chapters is typical of most collectars.[6]

The readings in the DC are taken from the following books in the Bible: the Books of Wisdom (excluding Job and the Psalms), the Prophets, the Pauline and Catholic Epistles, and the Apocalypse. If the placement of the capitula into groups was considered primitive, the choice of biblical books is not entirely so. According to Frere, the virtual disappearance of material from the Historical books of the Old Testament was a major feature of the 'new lectionary'.[7] Frere argued that this arose out of the intention to lift chapters for the offices from the epistle readings in the mass, thereby making the link between mass and office even closer. The DC introduces the epistles to a limited extent, although the Books of Wisdom and the Prophets continue to play an important role in the readings.

As regards the Temporal, the DC allocated readings from Isaiah for Epiphany; Isaiah and the Pauline Epistles for Septuagesima until Lent; the Books of Wisdom and the Prophets and the Pauline Epistles for the weeks in Lent; the Prophets and the Pauline Epistles in Passiontide where can be found the first occurrence of readings from the Catholic epistles for Eastertide, with only one chapter from Acts; and the Prophets for Rogationtide. The division of chapters for Passiontide into readings from the Prophets (DC 126-140.12) and from

the apostles (DC 141-149.13) exhibit another feature of the new lectionary at a fairly early stage. While the old form is preserved in the former, where according to Frere, Jeremiah was prescribed for Passiontide, the nine chapters from the Pauline Epistles gives a clear indication that 'the invasion of the epistle chapters' within the chapters for Passion-week was imminent.[8]

Originally, the DC intended to provide a full set of chapters for Laetania Maiore but on account of a lacuna of several leaves following f.17, only three chapters have survived. These are taken exclusively Jeremiah. The intention to provide chapters for the Greater Litany must be considered an antiquated observance as no chapters for those three Rogation Days are provided in Lf and Wp, where collects only are provided.[9]

Perhaps the two most critical departures from the old lectionary are the absence of the histories for the penitential weeks before Lent, as a result of the introduction of the epistle readings, and the absence of readings from the Acts for Easter. These omissions distinguish the DC chapters from an important English customary of the early eleventh century, Aelfric's 'Letter to the monks of Eynsham'. Notwithstanding the fact that a large part of Aelfric's 'Letter' is a close rendition of the Regularis Concordia, Aelfric adds a section not included in his exemplar. In setting out the order of the lessons for Nocturns, Aelfric follows the old lectionary in prescribing readings from the histories for Nocturns from Septuagesima until Passion week, and readings from the Gospels and epistles for Easter and the

octave.[10] Compared with this eleventh-century monastic 'customary', the DC chapters fail to correspond to what may be termed the conservative tendencies prevalent in the aftermath of the tenth-century Benedictine reforms. This must have effectively rendered the DC chapters inappropriate and archaic for the English church.

The readings prescribed for the Sanctoral are fairly standard: Acts for St. Stephen; Wisdom for St. John the Apostle; Apocalypse for Holy Innocents; the Prophets for St. John the Baptist; Acts for St. Peter; Pauline epistles for St. Paul; Wisdom for the octave of the Apostles and for the Assumption and Nativity of the BVM; Apocalypse for St. Michael; and Wisdom with a single epistle reading from Romans for St. Andrew. The Commune Sanctorum readings are largely derived from Old Testament readings: Wisdom (5 chapters) with one reading from the catholic epistle of St. James for the common of a martyr; Wisdom (4) for the Common of Many Martyrs; Wisdom (4) with a single reading from the epistle to the Hebrews for the Common of a Confessor; Hebrews (4) for the Common of Many Confessors; and Wisdom (4) with two epistles from the Romans for the Common of Confessor-Saints.

The specific citations of the verses vary among the collectars from the ninth through the twelfth centuries depending on the different localities. It is difficult to believe that a standardized lectionary had been introduced during this period. For example, the chapter readings in the collectars of Freising, although agreeing

among themselves to a much greater extent in fact than their respective collects, represent a different textual tradition from the chapter readings in the collectars of Augsburg; and these again are different from the chapters designated in the collectars of St. Thierry. The chapters in Lf and Wp, while remarkably similar, differ widely from those provided in DC.

Textual differences also result from the selection of overlapping or variant verses from the same section of the Bible. The problem of comparing variant verses is a critical one, and presents an important argument against providing an index of incipits for chapter readings, in spite of the fact that many collectar editions persist in providing them. An index of this kind is nearly useless as an exercise in collating texts, as a great deal of flexibility was permitted in citing verses within what one might call a standard biblical reading. For example, the DC divides a reading from Acts, c.6, for St. Stephen's feast between v.8 (DC 290.21) and v.9-10 (DC 291.21). Lf and Wp use the same verses but assign them to a single chapter reading for Matins (Lf 25::Wp 1370). An index of incipits would never have revealed that DC 291 was used for the same feast in Lf and Wp.[11] As an alternative, this thesis offers an index of the DC chapters in Appendix I, which is organized according to the name of the Biblical book and number of the chapter and verse.[12]

Hughes also noted that twenty-six chapters in Wp 'seem to be non-scriptural quotations' many of which he has been able to attribute to Biblical passages which may have inspired their composition.[13]

Similarly, of the surviving chapters in DC, four chapters for Epiphany find no direct corollary in the Bible.[14] At least two of these may have been inspired by a particular passage in Isaiah. 'Dn ds meus honorificabo te, laudem tribuam nomini tuo qui facis mirabilis res consilium tuum antiquum uerum fiat' (DC 3) was seemingly based on its biblical counterpart in Is 25.1, 'Dne ds meus es tu exaltabo te confitebor nomini tuo quoniam fecisti mirabilia cogitationes antiquas fideles amen'. But DC shares none of these non-scriptural chapters with those of Wp. Clearly, each collectar was influenced by different traditions as regards the readings for Epiphany.

Some of the more lengthy chapters from the Commune Sanctorum are formed from a combination of several disparate biblical verses. One of the DC chapters for the Common of a Confessor (DC 540) combines two chapters and four verses from Sirach: 'Ecce sacerdos magnus qui in diebus suis [=Sir 50.1] placuit deo et [=Sir 44.16] inuentus est iustus. et in tempore iracundiae factus est reconciliatio [=Sir 44.17] non est inuentus similis illi qui conseruaret legem excelsi' [=Sir 44.20]. It is preserved verbatim in Lf 327, Wp (1662), and Hy f.25v.[15] None of these chapters for a Confessor occur in the French or German collectars. The tradition of Biblical readings for the chapters in the Commune Sanctorum has apparently been exposed to some element of local standarization that has not extended to the temporal and sanctoral chapters.[16]



#### 6.b) The DC and the Winton Domesday fragments

Twelve leaves have survived from a tenth-century sacramentary, which had been used to form the boards of the twelfth-century leather binding for the Winton Domesday.[17] Now bound separately as London, Society of Antiquaries, Ms.154\* [=Wn], the contents have been listed by F. Wormald, and the 245 collects of the 260 surviving formulae have been collated with other sacramentaries.[18] The compiler of Wn has predominantly followed a copy of the Gregorian sacramentary, particularly as represented in the Missal of Robert of Jumieges [=RbJ]. Wormald tentatively suggested that the sparse decoration of acanthus foliage in the initial letters, and the paleography and orthography of the manuscript placed the fragments at Winchester, mid-tenth century.[19] He concluded that Wn may 'represent an early example of the kind of sacramentary in use in Winchester at the period of the Aethelwold reform.'[20]

This may be true. But the limited differences between Wn and RbJ and one other pre-Conquest mass book from Winchester, the Missal of New Minster [=NM], argue that this conclusion should be slightly modified.[21] Further, the survival of a mixed Temporal/Sanctoral in Wn indicates that it was not a copy of an English book, but in all probability, a direct copy of its continental exemplar, and hence one of the early books introduced to Winchester by mid-century. If so, the differences between Wn and DC show that the service-books of the English church before the reforms under Edgar were characterized by a distinct liturgical nonconformity.



A comparison of the incomplete prayers for Holy Innocents in Wn with those in DC indicates that Wn followed the Gregorian more rigorously. Wn offers the Hadrianum post communionem and alia oratio, and it would appear that originally it offered the full Gregorian mass set for this feast. The DC combines the Hadrianum collecta and alia oratio with the Gelasian super populum in addition to the two final Gelasian aliae orationes. [22]

In Epiphany, the next feast held in common, all of DC's eight collects are taken directly from the Hadrianum, the last two of which agree with the only two surviving collects for Epiphany in Wn. [23] DC and Wn do not agree with one other acknowledged Winchester book, RbJ, in which the extra Gregorian collect, 'Praesta qs o. ds ut saluatoris' (DC 14::Wn 15::GrH 97) is omitted.

While DC offers no other collects for Epiphany-tide, Wn offers a section for the Epiphany octave. Here, for the first and only time, Wn has included the Gelasian set for the vigil and octave of Epiphany. [24] Thereafter, Wn follows the supplemented Hadrianum for the two Sundays after Christmas and for the six Sundays after Epiphany. The slight mix-up in the prefaces of this last group, for Dom I-IV post Theophania, is not shared by any other pre-Conquest witness.

The dominant source for the Sanctoral in both Wn and DC has been the Gregorian, particularly for Wn. Of the surviving Wn feasts, DC follows Wn in every case, with the exception of an alternative Gelasian collect which the DC offers as the second collect for St. Agnes.[25] As noted above, Wn offers a mixed Sanctoral and Temporal. The prayers for Holy Innocents and St. Silvester (Wn 1-5) precede those for the Nativity and Epiphany-tide (6-49). Thereafter, the sanctoral feasts continue from St. Felix (14 Jan) to St. Gregory (12 Mar). Unlike DC, Wn has included its feast for the Purification properly within this group of sanctoral feasts, providing both the oratio ad collectam (DC 23.4) and the full mass-set.

A gap of several folios in the Winton fragment has left the mass of St. Gregory with only the first two prayers (of which DC shares the first), and causes a break in the text until the second week in Lent. The prayers for the four Lenten weeks in both service-books are remarkably consonant with the Gregorian sacramentary. Wn has regularly introduced the preface of the Supplement into each of its mass sets. Wn provides for all ferial days. The Lenten collects in DC have not been so regular. The DC includes a sporadic selection of collects from Monday, Wednesday and Friday in Week III (but omitting the collect from Sunday, Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday), and collects from Sunday, Wednesday, Friday and Saturday in Week IV (but omitting the collect from Monday, Tuesday and Thursday). The compiler's intention to copy five/six prayers each for the third and fourth weeks in Lent obviously superseded any sequential logic, contrary to the orderliness of Wn.[26]

Wn follows the supplemented Hadrianum once again for the two weeks of Passiontide.[27] By comparison, the DC has retained a more primitive and less clear-cut sequence of collects for this season. Its basic Gregorian structure begins with a collect, 'Ds o. ds familiam tuam...custodiatur in mente' (DC 150.14), which belongs to neither Gregorian nor Gelasian traditions. It ends with two collects from ferial ii and iv in the week of Palm Sunday which belong to the Gelasian sacramentary.[28] The DC collects for Passiontide (DC 151-160) are not nearly so organized, nor so connected to the Gregorian source, as those in Wn. An otherwise regular sequence of ferial days in the week of Palm Sunday, beginning with the Sunday and ferial ii, is interrupted by feria ii and iii from Passionweek, before resuming with feria iii and iv of Palm Sunday week.[29] This indicates that whatever Gregorian source lay behind DC, it remained at a more primitive state and was supplemented with the Gelasian more easily than the Gregorian of Wn.

The remaining prayers for Holy Week in Wn is marred by a lacunae of several leaves, and the rest of the provisions in these two service-books are no longer compatible aside from some capitular readings. Wn introduces a section of lections for certain masses in the Common of Saints.[30] Certain of these lections are in fact present among the capitula in DC and are used for the same Commons, reiterating the observation in the previous section that a tradition of standard readings for the Commons was stronger than for the Temporal/Sanctoral.[31]

Aside from the English caroline minuscule script of Wn, the text gives no indication that it was written at Winchester's Old Minster, where recent scholarship has tentatively placed it.[32] Its similarity with many of the relevant prayers in RbJ, particularly in the Gelasian sets for the Vigil and Octave of Epiphany, suggests that the Winchester community would certainly have found Wn suitable to be included with its own service-books. But in certain instances, Wn departs even from RbJ, the most critical of which is the alia oratio for Epiphany (Wn 15), which RbJ does not provide, and the collect for feria v in Dom IV in Quad (Wn 155), for which RbJ provides the Gelasian collect (GeS 412) instead.[33] Moreover, the chapters for the fragmentary Commons in Wn do not agree with the chapters provided in the Commons of two acknowledged New Minster books: the Missal of New Minster and Abbot Aelfwine's Commonplace Book. In the case of NM, the Wn lections can only be found sporadically within the Sanctoral. These raise serious textual objections against attributing Wn categorically to Winchester. Even more critical is the issue of the mixed Sanctoral, which occurs in no other Winchester book. One must take into account that its mixed form in Wn would have presented the average Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastic with a technical problem. It would be more accurate to argue that Wn represented one of the earliest (Breton?) copies of a continental sacramentary to have been received by the tenth-century Winchester reformers.[34]

Wn's reliance on a developed or supplemented text of the Hadrianum and its more consistent adherence to the Gregorian corpus are probably the two single qualities which distinguish it most from the older service-books such as the DC. As has been indicated, the DC

supplemented its provisions more frequently with Gelasian material, and, in reference to its collects for Lent and Passion-tide, the DC has not been very careful to preserve the sequence of its sacramentary exemplar. These structural and textual differences suggest that if Wn is said to represent a service-book used by the tenth-century Benedictine reformers in England (though not necessarily deriving from Winchester), then DC must have ill-suited the books of this new movement.

Notes to sections (a) and (b)

1. See similar arrangement in Shn, Gn, Wrd, Brt. Manuscript abbreviations conform with those used in Chapter Two. See Appendix I, for table.

2. The chapters for the weeks in Lent (DC 26-30.5) have been misplaced and occur before the Septuagesima and Sexagesima chapters. The corresponding collects (DC 49-58.9) occur following the collects for the weeks before Lent.

3. Chapters do not ordinarily form part of the collectar prior to the tenth century. The three chapters for St. Lawrence in the late ninth-century Prüm collectar (FrP 20.a-c) which precede the St. Lawrence collects (FrP 56-58) are the earliest indication of chapters invading the collectar domain. But the very peculiar nature of FrP has been discussed above, see Chapter Two, 71-72. Their insertion at the top of f.136v could have been an attempt to preserve special readings. Spanish collectars from the seventh through the ninth centuries are solely devoted to collects, cf. Oracional Visigótico, ed. J. Vives, dated s.vii/viii; and BL Add. Ms.30852, dated s.ix.ex, esp. M. Férotin, Liber Ordinum (1904), xv; ibid; Histoire de l'Abbaye de Silos (1897), 10ff.

4. Sw1 provides an abbreviated version of ten chapters followed by nine collects for Passiontide. Cf. Dold, 'Ein merkwürdiges Liturgiefragment,' Sacris Erudiri, 4(1952), 285.

5. Cf. Pere Gy, 'Typologie et ecclesiologie des livres liturgiques médiévaux,' La Maison-Dieu, 121(1975), 7-15, on nomenclature of liturgical books and its relationship to function. Missing chapters in RgB presumably were placed in the first part of the book; only collects from Paschaltide to the Invention of the Holy Cross survive; cf. Dold, 'Ein Fragment eines Collectars,' Festschrift Eugen Stollreither (1950), 31-32.

6. Cf. Wp, where the lesser feasts have no chapters and only one or two collects each. In the case of the collectars with separated books, the 'liber capitularis' takes up a significantly smaller number of folios: Shf, ff.1-24 =lectionary, ff.25-72 =collectar. Ag1, ff.2-50 =lectionary, ff.51-204 =collectar. Ag2, ff.7-72 =lectionary, ff.73-187 =collectar.

7. Frere, The Leofric Collectar, v.2, xxvff.

8. Frere, The Leofric Collectar, v.2, xxv-xxvii. Of the prophetic readings, DC contains only one from Jeremiah; nine are from Isaiah; and five from Lamentations. Of the epistles, DC offers one from Hebrew; two from Philistines; three from I Peter; two from Romans; and one from Galatians.



9. DC 236-238.17. Compare with Wp 916-921 [fer ii], Wp 922-23 [fer iiii], Wp 924 [fer iv]; and with Lf 171, where only four collects without specified offices are found.

10. 'Aelfric's Letter to the monks of Eynsham,' ed. M. Bateson (1892), 194-196.

11. One reason for these disparities may not have been the fault of the collectar at all, but the idiosyncratic nature of the mass readings from the sacramentary, which were stipulated by the local 'liber comitis'.

12. Cf. D.H. Turner, The Missal of the New Minster, Winchester (HBS, 93, 1962), 222-223.

13. Hughes, The Wulfstan Portiforium, v.2, viii.

14. For example, 'Dne excelsum est brachium tuum ds sabaoth, corona spei quae ornata est glorie' (DC 4).

15. See also the following three chapters in DC (DC 541-543), all of which combine disparate or variant verses of Scripture, and occur likewise in the other English sources: DC 541::Lf 328::Wp (1671)::Hy f.25v. DC 542::Lf 329::Wp (1677)::Hy f.26r. DC 543::Lf 329.

16. Hughes, The Wulfstan Portiforium, v.2, ix, claims that the Commune Sanctorum 'contains "universal" offices, and is less likely to be influenced by local conditions'. Although true for a given region (cf. agreement between DC, Lf, Wp, and Hy), the omission, for example, of DC 540 in the continental collectars indicate that this influence is by no means 'universal'.

17. F. Wormald, ed., 'Fragments of a Tenth-century Sacramentary from the Binding of the Winton Domesday,' Winchester in the Early Middle Ages: an edition and discussion of the Winton Domesday, ed. M. Biddle (Oxford, 1976), 541-549.

18. Fourteen of the formulae are lections; one is an Ordo. Wormald's Gregorian witness, The Gregorian Sacramentary under Charles the Great, ed. H.A. Wilson (HBS, 49, London, 1915) has been adapted in this discussion to conform with Deshusses, Grégorien, 3 vols.

19. Wormald, Winton, 542; his dating is perhaps a quarter of a century earlier than the date in Ker, Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries, v.1 (1969), 307.

20. Wormald, Winton, 542.

21. H.A. Wilson, ed., The Missal of Robert of Jumièges (HBS, 11, 1896), xliii, claims that RbJ is essentially derived from a Gregorian. See also Hohler, 'Les saints insulaires dans le missel de l'Archevêque Robert,' Jumièges Congres (1955), 293-303; Tolhurst, 'Le missel de Robert de Jumièges, sacramentaire d'Ely,' ibid, 287-292.

22. Wn 1-2::GrH 77-78. DC 317-321::GrH 75, GrH 78, GeS 63, GeS 66, GeS 65.

23. DC 8-15::GrH 87, 92-98. DC 14::Wn 15. DC 15::Wn 16.

24. Wn 12-14::GeS 91-93::RbJ 54. Wn 17-20::GeS 112-115::RbJ 54.

25. Wn provides the entire Hadrianum mass-set including the supplemented prefaces. The DC provides the collect only, as is proper for a collectar: DC 322.27::Wn 3::GrH 79. DC 323.28::Wn 50::GrH 99. DC 324.29::Wn 53::GrH 53. DC 325.30::Wn 56::GrH 105. DC 326.31::Wn 59::GrH 108. DC 326.31::Wn 62::GrH 111. DC 328.33::Wn 66::GrH 114. DC 330.34::Wn 70::GrH 117. DC 331.35::Wn 74::GrH 120. DC 332.36::Wn 86::GrH::128. DC 333.37::Wn 93::GrH 134. DC 334.38::Wn 96::GrH 137. But see St. Agnes, DC 328.33::Wn 66. DC 329.33::GeS 148.

26. Deshusses, Grégorien, v.1, 55ff., for the missing Thursdays in Lent, indicating a pre-Gregorian sacramentary. But the missing Thursdays in weeks III and IV in DC's Lenten provisions should not be categorically interpreted as evidence for an early type of Gregorian,

since other factors, such as the restriction of the number of prayers, may have caused these omissions. DC 115::Wn 105::GrH 232; DC 116::Wn 109::GrH 235 (Dom III, fer ii). DC 117::Wn (omitted)::GrH 240; DC 118::Wn 118::GrH 243 (fer iv). DC 119::Wn 124::GrH 248 (fer vi). DC 120::Wn 138::GrH 259 (Dom IV, die). DC 121::Wn 149::GrH 268; DC 122::Wn 150::GrH 269 (fer iv). DC 123::Wn 160::GrH 277 (fer vi). DC 124::Wn 165::GrH 281; DC 125::Wn 169::GrH 284 (sab).

27. In at least two cases, the other Winchester book RbJ has offered a Gelasian collect (GeS 412) or a variant text of the standard Gregorian reading (RbJ 82 vs. Wn 184::GrH 296).

28. DC 161::GeS 470 (Dom in Palmas, fer ii). DC 162::GeS 482 (Dom in Palmas, fer iv).

29. DC 151-160::GrH 312, 315, 318 (Palm Sunday week); GrH 288, 292 (Passion week); GrH 319, 323, 324, 326, 327 (Palm Sunday week).

30. These lections (Wn 224-229 and Wn 253-260) are interrupted by a set of special masses for the dead (Wn 230-252) which are taken wholly from the Supplement and find no corollary in the other Winchester book, RbJ.

31. Wn 224 (Sapientia iii.3-8) for Many Martyrs appears in no less than three capitula in DC 530.119, 531.119, 533.119 (Vigil of Many Martyrs); Wn 226 (Ephesians ii.19-22) for Many Apostles are divided into two capitula in DC 507.115, 508.115 (Vigil of Many Apostles).

32. Gneuss, Learning and Literature, 101, questions this conclusion.

33. Cf. the eleventh-century additions of the mass of St. Scholastica (Wn 83-85), the collect of which ('Familiam tuam', Wn 83) does not agree with the Missal of New Minster's 'Ds qui beate' (NM 74). RbJ 161 provides both.

34. Dr. M. Lapidge has pointed out to me that Wn contains early tenth-century Breton glosses, and that the English evidence, i.e., the English annotations, cannot be dated earlier than mid-century.

## Chapter Seven

### The Durham Collectar and the English response

#### Introduction

Certain disputed characteristics of the DC concerning the script, decoration and rubrics are relevant, even in a textual study such as this one, since they may indicate where its continental exemplar may have been transmitted in England and where the DC scribe [=scribe 0] may have copied it.

Part (a) reappraises the issue of the paleography of the DC, posed by T.J. Brown in his introduction to the EEMF facsimile, and now enlarged by D. Dumville.[1] The drawings of scribe 0 are also reconsidered in the light of some remarks of F. Wormald which have been largely and regrettably overlooked.[2] The overwhelming conclusion is that the Insular caroline minuscule of scribe 0 indicates that even if he copied the Durham Collectar at a Winchester scriptorium, he was not trained there. Part (b) is the first serious attempt to broach the issue of the Welsh traits which tend to linger on in an archaic manner in the script of scribe 0. This would give firmer evidence for the tentative conclusion offered by Brown, that his 'home' community lay to the west of England. His community could very well have been one that had accumulated several Welsh-related manuscripts for the obvious reason of geographical proximity. Part

(c) examines the multiple errors existing in the rubrics of scribe O. Possible conclusions are offered in an effort to make sense of the fact that he could not have copied his manuscript in his home community. Part (d) returns to the issues raised above in Chapters Four and Five concerning the textual links which the DC collects and chapters have preserved with such continental houses as St. Thierry and Rheims, and with the Commune Sanctorum prayers in Abbot Aelfwine's commonplace book from Hyde Abbey. Grimbold of St. Bertin is the obvious candidate whose career at Rheims and latterly as a founder of Hyde Abbey has the potential to link up many of the tangled threads which still dangle from the fragmentary folios of the A.IV.19.

Part (e) concentrates briefly on the treatment which the DC received in the hands of the Chester-le-Street community. Their possession of the manuscript is the only fact known about the history of the DC. Their use of the manuscript can be taken as an example of the way in which English ecclesiastics reacted to tenth-century collectars such as the Durham Collectar.



7.a) A reconsideration of the paleography and decoration

An examination of the paleography of the original portion of the A.IV.19 involves a highly complex and rapidly developing set of problems and issues that seem to take one well beyond the conclusions offered in the 1969 facsimile. Scholars have acknowledged that there is insufficient manuscript evidence from which to identify any distinctive traits of scribe O. Only one substantial text and two single-sheet fragments have been cited recently, which would place the script within a late phase of Insular minuscule: the main hand of the Oxford, Bodleian, Tanner 10 (Bede's 'Ecclesiastical History'), ff.1r-102v, 104r6-104v, 116r13-17, 116v1-12; BL Cotton Domitian A.ix, f.11r (a single page of extracts from Bede's 'Ecclesiastical History' concerning London); and BL, Add. 40618, f.66r (single page of Gospel text supplied by Eaduuardus the deacon).[3]

If one accepts the arguments of Dumville and those formerly made by M.B. Parkes, which appear to establish the standards at Winchester in the opening years of the tenth century, then one is forced to place the script of the A.IV.19 quite apart from this tradition.[4] The limited association which the decoration of the manuscript has with the 'Winchester style' can be accounted for as one of the more voguish styles of illumination which scribes readily adopted in south-west England.[5]

It has been argued that the earliest copy of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in CCC 173, the 'Parker manuscript', is a fairly certain indicator of Winchester scribal practices, c.891-924, [= 'Proto-square minuscule'] [6] It differs from the DC in the text script, the display script, the arranging and ruling of the parchment sheets, and in the decoration. [6] Another group of manuscripts which lie outside the Winchester satellites derive from the Worcester scriptorium. Parkes has included here the main scribes of the Worcester copy of the Pastoral Care (Bodley, Hatton 20), c.890-7; [7] and the Worcester copy of Aldhelm's 'De laude uirginitatis' (BL Royal 5 F.iii), s.ix/x. The Hatton 20 and the Royal manuscripts, both of them earlier than the DC, share with the DC a tendency to use a display script that is a mixture of rustic capitals and uncial forms -- a 'more ornamental, mixed and less disciplined' style -- as against the square capitals produced in the display script of the Parker manuscript. [8]

In preparing the parchment, the DC has retained the insular practice of placing flesh sides outwards and pricking after folding, [9] whereas the Winchester-group had begun to introduce continental methods. The insular arrangement and pricking of the gatherings in the A.IV.19, ff.1-61, may be the strongest argument for attributing its origins to southern England instead of to the Continent. But the confession in the EEMF that the sheets 'are not all arranged uniformly' could be taken as evidence that scribe O did not copy the manuscript in his own community, and consequently was slightly flustered in his preparations. [10]

In matters of decoration, F. Wormald has argued that 'whereas in the [Durham Ritual]...in nearly every case the balance between insular and continental motives is maintained, in the Junius Psalter the ornament is saturated with new ideas of decoration.' [11] The decoration of the Durham Collectar is said to be earlier than that in Corpus 183, which S. Keynes has recently argued is not the 'sancti Cuthberti uitam, metrice et prosaice scriptam', given by King Athelstan to Chester-le-Street in 934, but a copy of it made sometime between late 934-939. [12] Here the continental elements which are only introduced in the A.IV.19, take over in a more mature Winchester style. This observation clearly places the DC at an earlier phase of decoration than Parkes's Winchester group, and this would concur with the conclusions of Dumville regarding the script as a sort of precursor to the Winchester Square minuscule. [13]

The insular decorations of scribe O are notably pervaded with a new energy which finds parallels in manuscripts of the late ninth century. [14] This new energy has produced two innovations which are frequently overlooked. Wormald claimed that the 'long and short' acanthus leaf decorating letter D on f.28v11 was 'the earliest example in English illumination of one of the most persistent ornamental motifs of decoration found in English manuscripts of the tenth and eleventh centuries'. [15] It occurs also in the lower portion of the second maniple made to the order of Queen Aelflaed for Bishop Frithestan of Winchester, 909-16. The immediate origins of both occurrences, one in manuscript and one in embroidery, is acknowledged to be the Carolingian acanthus. But there is very little reason to believe that the Winchester maniple provided the actual source of

inspiration for scribe O.[16]

If one accepts the argument which this thesis has defended, and which the single occurrence of the caroline 'g' on f.6r5 substantiates, that scribe O was copying directly from a continental manuscript, it is worth considering whether he also chose to experiment with producing one of its continental acanthus leaves at least once in the decoration of the project. This would explain its single occurrence in the A.IV.19 (if it was a familiar decoration, he would surely have repeated it more often), and would effectively disassociate the A.IV.19 from any direct scribal influence from Winchester. The acanthus design in the 'D' of the A.IV.19 would have had a sufficient number of continental sources of inspiration, quite independently from the Winchester maniple.

The second aspect of innovation in scribe O's decoration, completely neglected by Brown (did he think it not worth considering?) is the uncanny likeness between a profiled, tonsured head in an 'O' initial in the A.IV.19 on f.27v4, and that of the profiled head in the line drawing of St. Dunstan which forms part of the scenario of the extraordinary drawing of Christ adored by a kneeling monk in the Glastonbury manuscript., Oxford, Bodl. Ms. Auct. F. 4.32, f.1.[17] Commonly known as St. Dunstan's Classbook, it is made up of four parts, two of which date from the ninth century and a third from the tenth century. These could have been bound together at Glastonbury while St. Dunstan was abbot (c.940-56), an assumption which is suggested by additions to each of the three parts in the hand ('Hand

D') which some attribute to Dunstan. That at least two of the three parts are derived from Welsh material is somewhat consonant with the peculiarly Welsh trait of scribe O to abbreviate ut as y, the implications of which are discussed more fully in Part (b). In all fairness, one should note that this practice had a wider usage by the beginning of the tenth century; but it did not, however, extend to Winchester.[18]

Wormald argued that the drawing of Christ and St. Dunstan 'looks earlier than other drawings associated with the end of the century.'[19] It is conceivable that the scribe who executed this drawing (spuriously attributed to St. Dunstan himself), was trained in the same tradition as scribe O. If so, it is arguable that the A.IV.19 still resided in southern England (Glastonbury?) at this time; and that its journey northwards may have been initiated when Dunstan began to initiate his reforms in earnest.[20] The impact of Dunstan's erudition and of his continental affiliations on the Glastonbury book holdings in the mid-tenth century, is one of the great unwritten essays of modern scholarship.[21] Any further evidence for situating the DC script more firmly in the history of Anglo-Saxon paleography, and its text within a known stream of textual transmission, must wait for a contribution of this sort.

#### 7.b) The Welsh characteristics of 'scribe O'

T.A.M. Bishop has noted a number of English-provenance manuscripts exhibiting a Welsh script or Welsh-derived script from the first half of the tenth century. These precede the developed form of the Caroline minuscule in use by mid-century.[22] Similar to the DC, their script is remote from the Square minuscule attributed to the Winchester, Canterbury, and Abingdon scriptoria. These manuscripts exhibit a high degree of Welsh features, though admittedly, those in the DC are proportionally lower.[23] It is worthwhile here to note those English-provenance manuscripts exhibiting the Welsh script and to compare them with the few Welsh features in the hand of scribe O. These limited associations may link the DC, very tentatively, with a group of manuscripts attributed to a particular locality in south-west England.

Bishop argued that Cambridge, UL, Ms.Ff. 4.42, a ninth-century text of Juvenius written in Wales, was brought to England by the late tenth century when Latin glosses were added in an Anglo-Saxon hand.[24] Although the English scriptorium of this scribe remains unknown, it is acknowledged that the same scribe wrote BL Cotton Vespasian D.XV, ff.102-121 (excerpts from Amalarius), and BL Harley 3376 (Glossarium).

The Boethius text ('De institutione arithmetica') in CCCC 352 was copied mid-tenth century, probably at St. Augustine, Canterbury, from a Welsh exemplar since its scribe has retained much of its Welsh or 'Celtic' abbreviations.[25]

The main text of the Corpus Martianus Capella (CCCC 153), ff.1-18 and ff.27-67r was written in Wales by several scribes probably from a single exemplar at the turn of the ninth century. By mid-tenth century, an English scribe, probably once again from St. Augustine, inserted a quaternion plus a divided sheet among the Welsh quinions, and copied onto these added folios, ff.19-28, the text from a continental exemplar.[26]

The paleographical implications of Cambridge, UL, Ee. 2.4 (Smaragdus, 'Expositio in Regulam s. Benedicti') and the relationship of the corrector's script with 'St. Dunstan's classbook' (Bodl. Lib. Ms. Auct. F. 4.32) are relevant when compared with the DC. The main text of UL, Ee. 2.4, ff.49-191, is a copy of a continental manuscript by an Insular scribe.[27] Written in the second quarter of the tenth century, the hand of the Smaragdus scribe retains very strong Insular features. On this account, Bishop has argued that 'the Smaragdus seems to have been written in some establishment within or bordering on the Celtic fringe.'[28] This suggests a provenance in south-west England, probably in a community showing early interest in the Benedictine Rule, as the text implies. The Welsh features which the script of ff.49-191 retains are not unlike the second hand of the Welsh Ovid in 'Dunstan's Class Book' (s.x.in), and, even earlier, the



main hand in the Corpus Martianus Capella (CCCC 153, s.ix.2).

The Durham Collectar cannot, on paleographical grounds, be attributed solely to a Welsh scriptorium. Yet the scribe has somehow retained at least two Welsh features in his hand. These are (1) the insular form of the est-abbreviation (=  $\dot{\text{e}}$ ), which, like the Smaragdus scribe, he uses interchangeably with the continental form (=  $\bar{\text{e}}$ );[29] and (2) the Welsh/Cornish form of the ut-abbreviation (=  $\dot{\text{v}}$ , occurring in the DC from f.28v5 onwards).[30] Despite the controversy over the wider application of (2) in Anglo-Saxon England by the second quarter of the tenth century, and hence less of an argument for a direct Welsh-English transmission, it must still be considered a Welsh-derived feature.[31] Both the Smaragdus scribe and scribe O use the continental form of the ur-symbol (=  $\text{u}^{\text{r}}$ ).[32]

The scribal practices used in preparing each manuscript for writing are not identical. The DC scribe has made prickings on the inner margins only; the Smaragdus scribe has pricked both inner and outer margins. Both scribes have arranged the leaves into quires somewhat inconsistently, although the DC scribe has more often than not placed the flesh side facing outward.[33] Hence, the strongest argument for a Welsh-lineage shared between scribe O and the Smaragdus scribe derives not from manuscript preparation, but from scribal practices of abbreviation. These are features which scribe O could easily have imitated if the Smaragdus-manuscript lay in the same scriptorium.

It is now fairly certain that the English scriptorium where the Smaragdus manuscript eventually came to rest is Glastonbury, since the hand of its additions resembles the famous 'Hand D' in St. Dunstan's Class Book. As noted above, it has been accepted that the Welsh and Breton miscellanea in St. Dunstan's Classbook were united at Glastonbury, and that the 'Hand D' which added the material in the mid-tenth century is attributed to Dunstan.[34] Bishop has tentatively suggested that the 'Hand D' additions in Auct. F. 4.32 are similar to the scribal corrections in the Smaragdus.[35] Glastonbury's geographical proximity to Wales and relative remoteness from the established Square minuscule centre at Winchester, makes it reasonable to suppose that it had a higher than average intake of Welsh-derived manuscripts. The manuscripts which were collected there before Dunstan began his reforms, must have easily accommodated several Welsh idiosyncracies. Those discovered in the Smaragdus manuscript, and even to some extent in the hand of its Glastonbury-corrector, and in the script of the material added to three other English manuscripts from the second quarter of the tenth century, are a substantial group which one could attribute to Glastonbury.[36] Cambridge, UL Ff. 4.42 may have been another ninth-century Welsh manuscript acquired by Glastonbury, where the Latin glosses were added by the late tenth century. The Juvenius text would not have been unwelcomed among the library of scholastic works which Dunstan must have collected while abbot there (c.943-956).[37]

St. Augustine's was obviously another English house which received Welsh manuscripts in the darker ages of English production before mid-century. But as the dialect of the DC scribe firmly situates him in south-west England, there is little likelihood that he acquired his Welsh scribal tendencies in Kent. Glastonbury is a more reasonable supposition for the A.IV.19. Its script is also 'rather remote from the attributed Square minuscule of A.S. centres.' [38] The decoration places it close to but not within the early development of the Winchester style. The chance resemblance of the profiled head of a tonsured monk in the DC with that of St. Dunstan in his Classbook may be accepted as a gratuitous link preserved among the freaks of pictorial correspondences. The strongest argument, however, is that Glastonbury has habitually acted as a receptor of Welsh manuscripts; and its scribes could easily have acquired certain of their Insular practices simultaneously with, but remaining aloof from, the growing awareness in the other centres of Caroline minuscule and its influence on Anglo-Saxon Square minuscule.

#### 7.c) Preposterous rubrics in the DC

It is not often noted that the rubrics written by scribe O are riddled with mistakes. Admittedly, this is a common feature of the medieval service-books, even the well-used ones. [39] But it is worth stressing here that even though scribe O was 'an expert writer and draughtsman', the latinity of his rubrics was often at fault. [40]

Mistakes in the rubrics fall naturally into three groups: (1) misspelt words, a total of nineteen; (2) wrong dates, a total of seven; and (3) wrong genders, a total of eight. One rubric on f.26r for 'S. Mariae ad martyres' (.49) has been omitted entirely, probably an oversight when scribe O went back to fill in the rubrics after the text was completed. Of the thirty-five errors, thirteen of them seem to be related to an excessive crowding into a very small space. This was apparently caused by an error in estimating the amount of line to be left empty when scribe O was copying the text. These rubrics ended up squashed against the right margin, creating a likelier chance for mistakes to occur.[41]

The errors of misspelt words, by far the largest group, include the frequent use of e-for-i spelling in name-endings, and the lack of the double '-i' for the masculine [=mas.] genitive [=gen.] case ending; or in the instance of the feminine [=fem.] gen., the lack of the final '-e'.[42] Some rather peculiar spellings include the double '-s-' in 'septuagessima' (.8) and 'quadragesima' (.10), written with long descenders, characteristic of the late phase of Insular minuscule;[43] the doubling of a two-letter phrase in 'VIGIGILIA' (.56); and the awkwardness with which he uses or does not use the -h- in THIMOTHEI (.83, correctly written Timothei), ELEUTERI (.92, Eleutherii), and TEOTHORII (.102, Teodori).

The name of a male saint is preceded by the fem. gen. form of 'sanct(a)e' in seven cases. That this could not be related to the 'e-for-i' orthographic feature noted above (eg. 'sancte' for

'sancti') is apparent for the following reasons: on f.27v, the rubric for St. Leo should include the mas. gen. ending for 'sanctus', the mas. gen. ending for 'Leo', and the fem. gen. ending for 'papa'. But whereas a proper rubric should read 'Natale sancti leonis papae' (cf. the Hadrianum, mass set no.127), scribe O has written 'sancte leonis pape'. It should be inferred, then, that scribe O normally indicated the fem. gen. ending with '-e', and that the cases where he does so for the masculine saints should be regarded as grammatical inaccuracies.[44]

The wrong dates are a more critical problem. In four out of the six cases where they occur, they have coincided with a 'squashed' rubric. It is arguable that the careless lay-out has caused scribe O to miscount, with the following casualties: on f.24r, he forgot the fourth 'i' in 'xviii' (he wrote 'XVIII') for the feast of St. Felix (.28); on f.24r, he forgot the second 'i' in 'xvii' (he wrote 'XVI') for the feast of St. Marcellus (.29); on f.26v, he forgot the 'x' in 'xiiii' (he wrote 'iiii') for the feast of Sts. Mark and Marcellianus (.54); this probably caused him to repeat the mistake in the rubric immediately following for Sts. Protase and Gervase (.55), where he wrote 'III KL IULI, instead of 'xiii'.

The next three mistakes have no bearing on the lay-out of the rubrics. On f.25r, the unusual expression of 'xvi' as 'VI DECIMA', not by itself necessarily a mistake, attributes the feast of St. Valentine to the month of May, instead of March. Granted that the abbreviation for either month is relatively similar, scribe O has

elsewhere got it right. 'MAI' is correctly used for rubrics .40 - .48, and 'MART' is correctly used for rubric .38.[45] On f.30r, the summer feast of St. Benedict of 11 July (correctly written, 'v idus iul') is erroneously cited as 'V ID KL IUL'. For no apparent reason, the abbreviation for 'Kalends' has been added to an otherwise correct rubric. Finally, on f.36r, the feast of the Quattuor coronati martyres is assigned to 'UI IDUS OCTB' instead of 'noub'. These last three mistakes could have been preserved in the exemplar of the A.IV.19, from which scribe O may have faithfully copied them into his tenth-century manuscript. Although he made a few corrections to his own copy, he obviously overlooked these critical ones, or his proof-reading was not so extensive as commonly believed.[46]

It must be remembered that some twenty-nine leaves are missing from the Durham Collectar. Of the forty-five leaves surviving from the collectar part of the manuscript, thirty-five errors occur in 128 rubrics.[47] Scribe O has managed to produce an error in roughly one quarter of the extant rubrics in the collectar. Given that preposterous rubrics are a common feature of tenth-century service-books, the percentage for the A.IV.19 is still extraordinarily high. Was scribe O under pressure? The fact that he overlooked a rubric, and even more indicative, that he was forced to squeeze many of his rubrics into the narrow spaces available at the ends of sentences, some running into the margins, suggest that elegance and patience were qualities he was not able to apply in the final stages of his own copy. However, it is striking that he could show an elegant and patient hand in the decorations and whimsical line sketches, and in the first appearance of the acanthus-leaf design

which he must have drawn with the exemplar before him, struck perhaps by the novelty of the design. It is arguable, though purely hypothetical, that scribe O was only allowed a limited time with the A.IV.19 exemplar, before returning it to its original owners. Once back in his own community, he could have devoted more attention to the decoration, which would explain the prevalence of the insular qualities in his design work.

In light of the Welsh tendencies in the script, and of the textual relations with Abbot Aelfwine's book, some such reconstruction as the following might have had taken place. Scribe O was a member of the secular community at Glastonbury, c.900. Between 900-920, he went to the newly-founded New Minster, another royal monasterium, where he received instructions to copy a north-east French book. That his campaign was a restricted one is evident by the fact that the text of the A.IV.19 gives no indication that it was compiled from a composite set of books. Moreover, it features none of the special saints of Lotharingia which one would naturally expect from a tenth-century copy of a south English book.[48]

The evidence from the missing rubric, the hurridly-copied and squashed rubrics, and the uncorrected errors in the dating of the feasts, presents one with a fairly convincing argument that scribe O was not working in familiar surroundings. The survival of his exemplar's Commune Sanctorum in an early eleventh-century service-book of New Minster dictates the place where that neighboring scriptorium could have been.



7.d) A copy of a book belonging to St. Grimbald?

If the earlier arguments are accepted about the Durham Collectar, firstly, that it is associated with an early eleventh-century collectar from St. Thierry in the diocese of Rheims, secondly, that its chapters and collects for the Commune Sanctorum were somehow preserved at New Minster, and thirdly, that the DC was copied from a book used for a community of secular clergy, then it is tempting to suppose that these point to an association with a particular individual.

It is highly unlikely that Bishop Cenwald of Worcester would have picked up a secular book in his travels to the German monasteries.[49] And as Dom Symons rightly pointed out, the majority of these trips undertaken during Athelstan's reign concerned monastic interests, not secular ones.[50] In fact if one believes that tenth-century English monasticism really began in earnest with the appointment of Dunstan as Abbot of Glastonbury in c.943, then the DC, as a secular book, would have had to be copied before this. The most likely catalyst appears to be the figure of Grimbald.

Monk of St. Bertin, close associate of Archbishop Fulk of Rheims, advisor in both liturgical and learned matters to King Alfred, and, in the last years of his life, to King Edward: these are the historical facts of Grimbald's life which are relevant here. Grimbald served as an important link between England and the Continent in the critical years of 886/7 - 901.

The details of his life are now worth considering.[51] Grimbald's testimonies in the charters of St. Bertin between the years 867-885, show that his initial tonsuring as a monk was soon followed by ordination to the priesthood. He is described as 'sacerdos et monachus', and it is fairly certain that the community at St. Bertin before the reforms must have consisted of a mixture of monks and secular clerics.[52]

On the English response to Grimbald, it has been noted that Asser described Grimbald as 'sacerdos et monachus'. He is not mentioned among the abbots in the Liber Vitae of New Minster. In his obit in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle he is described as 'Mass priest'. William of Malmesbury claimed that the New Minster community under Grimbald was that of secular clerics.[53] Grierson has suggested that this community was a monasterium, 'probably no more than a house where he and a few other clergy could live in common.'[54] An addition unique to the Breviary of St. Bertin notes that Grimbald suffered the ways of the clerics quite happily, a situation which would not have been tolerated, says the writer of this Vita, under the stern monastic rule of Aethelwold.[55]

Grimbald did not come to England via St. Bertin, but from Rheims. His removal to the archepiscopal city in 885 brought him closer to his former Abbot Fulk of St. Bertin (878-883), now archbishop of Rheims.[56] Archbishop Fulk was obviously aware of Grimbald's superior qualities as a scholar and ecclesiastic; otherwise, he would not have had him brought to Rheims, where

presumably Grimbald participated regularly in the liturgical services of the secular cathedral. Nor would Fulk have made such an issue of King Alfred's request for Grimbald, describing him in his response to Alfred as 'ministerii nostri consors, et in omni utilitate ecclesiastica fidissimus adiutor'.[57]

The Archbishop may have sent off his trusted councillor with many useful service-books, of the kind which Grimbald had regularly used at Rheims.[58] If the exemplar of the A.IV.19 was among them, this would explain the lack of rubricated guides other than the most general identification of feasts and formulae (whether collect or capitula, but even these are sometimes omitted.) The cryptic rubrics would have been sufficient to prompt Grimbald's memory of how the services were done at Rheims. It is regrettable that no letters survive in which Grimbald asks for more service-books, especially those which he could not obtain at Winchester once he realized that the land where he was destined to live out the rest of his life was suffering at that particular moment from a low level of ecclesiastical and intellectual energy.[59] His situation must have been similar to that of the expatriate Alcuin, whose requests to York do survive for books which he could not find in the latter years of the eighth century at Charlemagne's court.[60]

If the departure of the DC's exemplar from the Continent were assigned to c.886 along with the arrival of Grimbald, it would account for the primitive structure of the Durham Collectar. It shows none of the sophistications which the early tenth-century additions in the

Prum collectar exhibit, nor the interrelated structure in the 'Liber capitularis' of Stephen of Liège (composed c.903-916).[61] It is arguable that the exemplar would have been out of touch with these developments -- perhaps it was in England by the time either the Prum additions or the 'Liber capitularis' was written.

Although he died in 901 before the foundation of New Minster in 903, his cult connects him intimately with this foundation and presumably his books were transferred to the sacristy or bookshelf there at his death. If the exemplar of the A.IV.19 was among them, this would explain the re-appearance of the Commune Sanctorum provisions in Abbot Aelfwine's book. The litany in Abbot Aelfwine's book (Cotton Titus D.xxvi, ff.51-56) mentions 'St. Grimbald'. On f.58 of the same manuscript, a prayer for Grimbald and St. Judoc, another saint specifically attributed to New Minster, occurs in a series of collects for special saints:

'Defende, quaeso Dne, intercedentibus sanctis confessoribus tuis Judoco atque Grimbaldo, ab omni adversitate congregationem istam, et tibi corde prostratam ab hostium tuere propitius clementer insidiis.'

A second prayer to Grimbald occurs on f.93 of Titus D.xxvii (the second half of the manuscript which originally preceded D.xxvi) in a section of various prayers immediately following the office prayers and preces to the BVM.[62]

These special insertions suggest that one of the important sources of the Titus manuscript was a book of Grimbald's. One could imagine that Abbot Aelfwine was delving through the books preserved in the book shelves of early eleventh-century New Minster, many of which were revered as having belonged to Grimbald himself. Only some such conjecture as this could make sense of the Durham Collectar and its association with New Minster on the one hand and with Rheims on the other.

#### Additional Note

As an alternative to Grimbald, it has been suggested that the DC may have come across with the refugee monks of St. Bertin who were granted sanctuary at Bath under King Edmund in 944.[63] But even a generous terminus post quem of 940 for the hand of scribe O rules out this possibility.[64] It must be admitted that the idea of monks who were probably accustomed to a mixed or secular rule and who were fleeing from a type of reformed Benedictine monasticism offered by Abbot Gerhard of Brogne, would suit the secular nature of the A.IV.19 very nicely. But the hand and decoration of scribe O indicates that he copied his exemplar before the St. Bertin monks actually fled to England and to Bath.

### 7.e) The English response

Any final assessment of the use made of the Durham Collectar in England will have to take account of the additions and glosses introduced to the original manuscript by the Chester-le-Street community. This raises several issues which are not directly related to the development of the collectar, and a full investigation of these must wait for another opportunity for publication.[65] Nonetheless, a few words need be said about these alterations and the implications which they may have for the transference of the Durham Collectar to northern England.

Several members of the Chester-le-Street community altered the manuscript some time after they had received it from the south: (1) a variety of material was added to the original collection of collects, chapters and benedictions. As a result, the term 'collectar' can no longer be applied to the full manuscript. Most of the added material on ff.61r11-84v is more accurately known as a ritual. But even this does not adequately describe the educational material on ff.85r-88.[66] (2) Aldred glossed nearly all of the original material and most of the additional in the earliest surviving example of a north-Northumbrian dialect of the Old English language.[67]

The reasons for sending a continental book northwards to Chester-le-Street sometime before 970 (when as the colophon attests, Aldred brought at least part of it with him to Wessex) are worth considering. Was the original manuscript sent to Chester-le-Street as

a gift of distinction, part of the Wessex patronage which had been traditionally extended to the Cuthbert community? This would link the DC with such famous Winchester gifts as the stole and maniples, made for Bishop Frithestan c.916 and given by King Athelstan to Chester-le-Street in 934.[68] Or was it a southern reject, on account of severe limitations in the text, which was sent northwards in the hopes that it may have provided reference material to some newly reformed community? At least one collect in the DC would not have suited the liturgical trends emanating from Winchester in 970 without substantial revision. DC 48.8 for the weeks preceding Lent appear in the Regularis Concordia as part of a votive office for the king and queen with important grammatical changes.[69]

Unfortunately, no documentation of its arrival to Chester-le-Street has survived. It is not mentioned in the several medieval inventories of the books in the Durham libraries, although the reasons for its omission here may be more complex.[70] It looks as though Provost Aldred obtained the A.IV.19 by chance. He and his associates may not have been very pleased with it, especially if they had thought to use it in the choir with the other service-books. It lacks rubrics; it has an unwieldy structure (sometimes too many, sometimes too few collects); it is riddled with a great many scribal mistakes, quite unlike, for example, the neatness and precision with which the Stonyhurst Gospel was written and corrected;[71] and it has a noticeable disregard for the particularly English saints.[72] Perhaps, too, folios were already missing, in particular, those carrying collects for the essential Sundays after Pentecost. The original portion of the A.IV.19 is predominantly secular and Roman in



character. One of the more obvious features of the additions is the attempt to supplement these omissions.[73] The first prayer of the additions, a collect against poison (DR 666) occurs in the Book of Cerne (no.61), following an apocryphal text on one of the miraculous works of St. John.[74] The additions also include the Celtic Capitella for Vespers, among them four rare suffrages which have close textual and liturgical correspondences with the Bangor Antiphoner and the Rule of St. Columbanus.[75]

The practice of following the monastic liturgy at Chester-le-Street never seriously seemed to be questioned until the second quarter of the eleventh century in the events leading up to Bishop Walcher's election and his eventual abolition of the Benedictine Office, which lasted according to Simeon, only until 1083.[76] But it has been noted that in the vacancy following the death of Bishop Aldhun in 1018, none of the clerics were willing to take the monastic vows. The priest Edmund who eventually received the tonsure before being consecrated bishop in 1021, was forced to send to Peterborough Abbey for advice on monastic practice and for companions. Barlow's assessment of the early bishops of Durham as 'monks without a cloister,' hints of the mixed liturgical rites which characterized the Anglo-Saxon communities at this time.[77] But as the DC is purely secular, this would have relegated it to the reference shelves for occasional use only.[78]

These observations and others indicate that the A.IV.19, ff.1-88 was not used daily among the choir books, but was retained as a reference book in the scriptorium at Chester-le-Street.[79] The additions rarely repeat or replace any of the provisions in ff.1-61r10; they are a supplement to an insufficient collection. Although similar to the Carolingian response towards the Hadrianum, whose inadequacies caused the writing of the Hucusque supplement, Aldred and his contemporaries did not enter their additions in an organized manner. For example, the list of antiphons, versicles, and responses for the summer readings and for the September readings occur in two separate places, the latter section entered first on ff.64v-65r, although the same scribe F wrote them both.[80] The eleven hymns exist in three separate groups in three different parts of the manuscript, with the hymn for Compline separated from the other daily office hymns by four folios.[81] Gathering them all into this one book can only be explained by the intention to retain them there for easy reference.

Aldred's colophon in the A.IV.19 is quite different from the earlier one which he, as priest, wrote to commemorate his gloss of the Lindisfarne Gospels, possibly, as has been suggested, in order to gain admission into the Cuthbert community. It is a much shorter colophon, predominantly composed of divine invocations. By contrast, the colophon to the A.IV.19 refers systematically to the date, place and official situation in which it was written.[82] He gives the impression of a careful scholar noting down important information, and citing as accurately as he can, the reference for it.

Aldred's Latin gloss to Bede's Commentary on the Book of Proverbs (Bodley 819, possibly the oldest surviving text of Bede's Commentary),[83] which he completed between the execution of the two Old English glosses, demonstrates that he was capable of producing work of scholastic (if not intellectual) distinction, and that he was interested in compiling material for private ruminations and devotions.[84] Unlike Lapidge's account of the glosses to Christian-Latin poetry from the Continent, Aldred's gloss never 'peters out...and...ceases altogether', but is continuous and deliberate, even though no known standard set of Latin gloss existed for this part of the Bible.[85] It would appear then that Aldred wrote an original gloss to Bede's commentary and completed Bede's lemmata with the full Biblical quotation.[86] Scholars are inclined to believe that this sort of Latin gloss was undertaken in order to produce a religious text for the glossator's own private study.

Aldred's Old English gloss to the A.IV.19 is not continuous, unlike his earlier gloss to the Lindisfarne Gospels. On textual and paleographical grounds, it would seem that he preferred to gloss his own work.[87] But even accounting for this, his motives for leaving the two facing pages after the penultimate blessing for the Christmas lection unglossed, and for leaving unglossed the first prayer of the ordeal by hot iron (DR 631) and for resuming the gloss mid-sentence in the second prayer (DR 632) at the top of f.54v remain unclear, unless, as the quality of the A.IV.19 gloss suggests, the glossing was intended as a private exercise.[88]

The addition of the four Cuthbert prayers to quire XI is a good example of the kind of reference material which the A.IV.19 was intended to retain. In Brown's analysis of the hand-writing in this quire, he has observed that, 'the calligraphic minuscule of Ms. pp.153-66, 169-76,...was obviously written with care and at leisure, whereas the collects [for St. Cuthbert on f.84r] were written in the Bishop's tent and exhibit a good deal of irregularity.'[89] There is every good reason to believe that Aldred had separated this quire from the rest of the manuscript and had slipped it into his baggage, intending to fill it with 'new' liturgical finds on his travels with the Bishop's familia to Wessex.[90]

Hohler argues that the mass-set, from which Aldred copied the collect, post-communion and super populum (the fourth is a borrowing from a Gelasian votive) is 'a cento of very ancient formulae brought together for St. Cuthbert'.[91] This compilation was probably done in Wessex around the turn of the seventh century, shortly after his elevation in 698, when it was discovered that his body lay incorrupt. The precise form of the super populum in the A.IV.19 links the tradition of this mass even more strongly to Wessex and to Winchester than Hohler had originally admitted. He has attempted to explain the occurrence of the mass in the Fulda Sacramentary [=F] by St. Boniface, who, as a 'Wessex man' was very likely to have been one of the prime agents responsible for its circulation. But the ending of the super populum in the A.IV.19 follows the mass preserved in the Missal of Robert of Jumièges [=MrJ].[92] As it is acknowledged that MrJ is a New Minster compilation of the early eleventh century, which relied on certain older texts from Ely and/or Peterborough,[93] the

correspondence between the A.IV.19 and MrJ confirms that this version of the text lay closer to the original, which had a certain popularity in Wessex, and that it lost this version while crossing the channel.

Aldred included only three of the five prayers of the mass set. Either his Wessex exemplar had retained only these prayers, or Aldred already had some other Cuthbert mass at home, which contained the proper secret and preface.[94] In either case, the incomplete mass could not have been used as Aldred wrote it. But if the prayers were to be used as reference material, or introduced within the Cuthbert mass which he was accustomed to recite at Chester-le-Street, then his entries on f.84r make more sense. One is forced to conclude that this part of the A.IV.19, was intended as a source of reference, as was the entire manuscript.[95] This interpretation would help a great deal in explaining the dissatisfaction in the south of England for this type of antiquated collectar. It was often the case that the unused service-books, rather than the well-thumbed ones, were sent off to other communities in need of books.

Notes to part (a)

1. T.J. Brown, The Durham Ritual (EEMF, 16, 1969); D. Dumville, 'English Square minuscule,' ASE 16(1969), to whom I am grateful for supplying me with the uncorrected proofs in advance of publication.

2. F. Wormald, 'Decorated Initials in English Manuscripts from AD 900 to 1100,' Archaeologia, 91(1945), 107-135.

3. Dumville, ASE 16, 167-168, and nn.104,106,110; see ibid, 167,n.102, for two more specimens which antedate these manuscripts, exhibiting an early type of this reformed style of Insular minuscule under discussion here: main scribe of BL, Cotton Tiberius B.xi + Kassel, Landesbibliothek, Anhang 9 (Alfred's Pastoral Care) and preface (hand 3) of the same text in Oxford, Bodl. Hatton 20.

4. Dumville, ASE, 16, 167; M.B. Parkes, 'The Palaeography of the Chronicle, Laws and Sedulius, an Historiography at Winchester in the Late Ninth and Tenth Centuries,' ASE, 5(1976), 149-171; ibid, 'A Fragment of an Early-Tenth-Century Manuscript and its Significance,' ASE, 12(1983), 129-140, where Parkes gives more attention to the implications of having three scriptoria in one place.

5. EEMF, 38-39. Dumville, ASE, 16, 168, and n.108, notes the 'Winchester style' in the decoration of the Tanner Bede.

6. I use Dumville's terminology here, see ASE, 16, 169. Parkes, ASE, 5, 149-171, adds the Tanner Bede to his Winchester group, which includes the Trinity Isidore (Cambridge Trinity College B. 15. 33 [=368], Etymologiae, scribe 1), the Tollemache Orosius (BL Add 47967, scribe 2), and the Junius Psalter (same artist as the Tollemache). But Dumville, ASE, 16, 168, argues that the 'Tanner Bede has no known origin or early provenance.'

7. Dumville lists the preface to the Hatton 20 as an example of the early phase of the reformed Insular minuscule, see note 3, above.

8. Parkes, ASE, 5, 158,n.1, esp.160,n.4, argues that the square capitals in the inscription only of the Hatton 20 (facsimile edition The Pastoral Care, ed. N.R. Ker, EEMF, 6, 1956) proves that the Hatton 20 eventually came to rest in Winchester where this inscription was added. Parkes, ibid, 160,n.3, also notes that Oxford, Bodl. Douce 140 (CLA v.2, 237) exhibits the 'less disciplined' form of display script; see n.36 of this chapter.

9. Brown, EEMF, 12.



10. Brown, EEMF, 12.
11. F. Wormald, Archeologia, 91, 117.
12. S. Keynes, 'King Athelstan's Books', Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England, edd. M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss (1985), 180ff. The list of Athelstan's gifts of 934 is preserved in 'Historia de s. Cuthberto', in Symeonis monachi opera omnia, ed. T. Arnold, 2 vols., Rolls Ser. (London, 1882-5) I, 196-214; printed M. Lapidge, 'Surviving Booklists from Anglo-Saxon England,' Learning and Literature, 49ff.
13. Dumville, ASE, 16, 169, cautions that the form of insular minuscule in the DC may have existed 'alongside the Square minuscule of Phase I,' on account of uncertainties regarding the date of the DC and the Tanner Bede.
14. Wormald, Archeologia, 91, 115-116, compares new 'Romanesque' qualities in DC with such predecessors as Royal 5 F.iii (Worcester, s.ix/x).
15. DC 376.61, 'Ds qui apostolo tuo', for the Nativity of St. Peter; noted by Wormald, Archeologia, 91, 114.

16. Wormald, 'The "Winchester school" before St. Aethelwold,' England before the Conquest, edd. P. Clemoes and A. Hughes (1971), 306-7, argues that the Carolingian leaf motif in England may have been inspired by manuscripts connected with Metz, e.g., the Drogo Sacramentary.

17. DC 363.57, 'O. et misericors ds', for the Nativity of St. John the Baptist. See R.W. Hunt, intro., St. Dunstan's Classbook from Glastonbury: Codex Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. Auct. F. 4.32 (1961); discussed in The Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Art, 966-1066, edd. J. Backhouse, et. al. (1984), no.31.

18. Cf. Brown, EEMF, 38, for its usage in Ireland and Cornwall; see text above, 273 and n.31.

19. Wormald, Archaeologia, 91, App. I, 133.

20. T. Symons, 'Regularis Concordia: History and Derivation,' Tenth-Century Studies 37ff.

21. D.A. Bullough's unpublished Ford lectures may go a long way towards providing one. He has mentioned to me that of the tradition of manuscripts containing Alcuin's letters, one version ('K.3') was at Glastonbury by the tenth century (on account of peculiarities in the text) when it was copied by a Canterbury scribe, and may even have been the 'epistolae alcuini' mentioned in a thirteenth century

Notes to part (b)

22. T.A.M. Bishop, 'The Corpus Martianus Capella', and 'An early example of insular-caroline', Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society, vol. 4, 1966 and 1968, 257-75 and 396-400, respectively. But Dumville may date the introduction of Caroline minuscule earlier, see ASE 16, 169ff.

23. If one were to examine the hand of scribe O for traces of Welsh characteristics, more evidence might be found.

24. Bishop, 'Corpus Martianus,' 258ff.

25. Bishop, 'Corpus Martianus,' 259ff.

26. Bishop, 'Corpus Martianus,' 262ff. The commentary + 'Collectae Glossae' of part ii of this manuscript, ff.69-86, copied slightly later in the mid-tenth century, were also copied from a continental exemplar from northern France, probably by a scribe of the same English scriptorium (= St. Augustine). This continental exemplar was also used to correct the Welsh text in CCCC 153. Even

before CCCC 153, this same continental exemplar was used to copy the same text into CCCC 330, part ii, s.ix.ex, by several scribes (of St. Augustine?).

27. Bishop, 'Insular-caroline,' 396ff. The first six quires are missing; some leaves are located in Bodl. Lib. lat. theol. C.3, ff.1,1x,2.

28. Bishop, 'Insular-caroline,' 387.

29. Brown, EEMF, 20; Bishop, 'Insular-caroline,' 398; D. Bains, A Supplement to 'Notae Latinae' (Abbreviations to Latin Manuscripts of 850-1050 A.D.) (1936), 13. [Cf. W.M. Lindsay, Notae Latinae: an account of abbreviation in Latin MSS. of the early minuscule period (c.700-850) (1915), 13-14].

30. Brown, EEMF, 20; Bains, Supplement, 51; [Lindsay, Notae Latinae, 321].

31. Brown, EEMF, 38, and n.5; Bishop, 'Insular-caroline,' 398; Bains, Supplement, 51, notes one other Anglo-Saxon manuscript, Boulogne 90, which also shares this Welsh feature.

32. Brown, EEMF, 20; Bishop, 'Insular-caroline,' 397; Bains, Supplement, 62-63; [Lindsay, Notae Latinae, 372-373ff].

33. Brown, EEMF, 12; Bishop, 'Insular-caroline', 396ff.; N.R. Ker, Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon, xxiii-xxv, comments on the inconsistent practices normal to this period.

34. Hunt, St. Dunstan's Classbook, see n.17 of this chapter.

35. Bishop, 'Insular-caroline,' 400, 'not affirmed as certain'.

36. Bishop, 'Insular-caroline', 398-9. Other manuscripts retaining scripts which resemble the corrector's hand in the Smaragdus manuscript and which form a group of manuscripts belonging, tentatively, to the same scriptorium, which Bishop argues is Glastonbury, are: Bodl. Lib. Douce 140 ('The Douce Primasius'), ff.3r-5r, 118-122 (Parkes, ASE, 5, 160,n.3, notes that the display script exhibits the same 'less disciplined' style attributed also to the DC, see n.8 in Part 1 above) ; Bod. Rawl. C. 697 ('Aldhelmus'), f.17r; Lambeth Palace Lib. 237, ff.146-209 (Augustinus, etc.).

37. This would link BL Cotton Vesp. D.XV, ff.102-21 and Harl. 3376, both written by the glossator of the Juvenius, with Glastonbury.

38. Bishop, 'Insular-caroline,' 398-9.

Notes to part (c)

39. Cf. editions of the Angoulême and Gellone sacramentaries; and Charlemagne's 'Admonitio' for ordering men only, and not boys, to copy manuscripts.

40. Brown, EEMF, 18.

41. Folio numbers have been provided next to the number of the rubric, which occur here in parentheses: f.24r (.28); f.24r (.29); f.26v (.54); f.26v (.55); f.26v (.56); f.30v (.71); f.31r (.76); f.31r (.77); f.31r (.78); f.31v (.79); f.32v (.82); f.36v (.102); f.38v (.110).

42. e-for-i: Felicissime (f.30v); Ypolite (f.31r); Agapite (f.32v); Rustice (f.34v). Gen. case endings: [masc.] Simplici (f.30v); Tiburti (f.31r); Eusebi (f.31r); Dionisi (f.34v); Eleuteri (f.34v); Teothori (f.36v); [fem.] Sancta Mariae (f.31v, and again, f.33r); Sancta Ceciliae (f.37r). The e-for-i spelling may be unusual; Bishop, 'Insular-caroline,' 398, notes the opposite is indicative of the Celtic or Insular orthology.

43. For long descenders, see Dumville, ASE, 16, 167. The double -s- error is also found in the sacramentary fragment, s.x.2, probably from Winchester which survived as the binding-boards to the Winton Domesday [=Wn] (see full discussion above in Chapter 4), cited by F. Wormald, 'Fragments of a Tenth-Century Sacramentary from the Binding of the Winton Domesday', Winchester in the Early Middle Ages: an Edition and Discussion of the Winton Domesday, ed. M. Biddle (1976), 542, and n.1.

44. Note also the rubric for the Purification, sancte Mariae, where both forms of the fem. gen. are used. Cf. also, rubrics for sancte Agnetis (f.24v) and sancte Agatha (f.24v).

45. See Appendix I, for index of rubrics with errors noted and corrected.

46. Brown, EEMF, 21, limits the corrections to the text only and not to the rubrics. I have subjected the manuscript to a thorough examination for signs, if any, of corrections to the rubrics not otherwise visible in the facsimile. There are none in the rubrics cited above. My gratitude is extended especially toward the librarian of the University of Durham, Mr. Roger Norris, for permitting me to view the A.IV.19 in an unusually restricted situation.



47. This calculation includes only the collectar proper and not the benedictional or ritual material on ff.45r21 - 61r10 which scribe O also wrote.

48. Cf. the litany in LMa; the mid-ninth-century calendar in Digby 63, if one accepts it as a south English rather than a north English book; the calendar of LMb; and the calendar and sanctoral of the Missal of Robert of Jumièges.

#### Notes to part (d)

49. S. Keynes, 'The visit of Bishop Cenwald to Germany,' appendix to 'King Athelstan's Books,' Learning and Literature, 199, claims that Cenwald's primary purpose was to accompany Athelstan's two half-sisters, Edith and Adiva, to Henry the Fowler's Saxon court. The Confraternity book of St. Gall Ms.905 (ed. MGH, 1884, 100 and 136-7) records that the trip covered 'omnibus monasteriis per totam Germaniam,' and dates Cenwald's visit to October 929.

50. T. Symons, ed. and trans., Regularis Concordia: Anglicae Nationis Monachorum Sanctimonialiumque (1953), xi.

51. Cf. P. Grierson, 'Grimbald of St. Bertin's,' English Historical Review, 55(1940), 529-561.

52. Grimbald drafted diplomas in 867 and 868 as 'diaconus et monachus', ed. B. Guerard, Cartulaire...St. Bertin (1840), 113-4; reprinted, Grierson, 'Grimbald,' 542,nn.4-5. Diplomas of 873 (ed. D. Haignere, Les chartes...St. Bertin, 1886, no.489) and 885 (ed. B. Guerard, op cit) show him as 'presbyter/sacerdos et monachus'; reprinted Grierson, 'Grimbald,' 542,nn.7-8. D. Knowles, The Monastic Order in England (1963), 33,n.1: 'it is probable that even there [St. Bertin] the life was that of regular clerks rather than monks.'

53. Knowles, Monastic Order, 33,n.1, cites evidence from Asser, 'De rebus gestis Aelfredis,' c.78; W. de Gray Birch, ed., 'Register and Martyrology of New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester' (Hampshire Record Society, 1892), edn. of Liber Vitae, Ms. Stowe 960; W.H. Stevenson, ed., Asser, on obits in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and the Liber Vitae, 310; William of Malmesbury, Gesta Pontificum, 173.

54. Grierson, 'Grimbald,' 557.

55. 'Tam benigna vero erant in eo paternae charitatis viscera, ut domesticorum quorundam mores tolerare maluerit, quam eos ejicere, commendans Domino tempus dispensationis, quia corrigeret ecclesiam tuam. Quod per beati praesulis Adelwoldi instantiam factum esse constat;' printed Grierson, 'Grimbald,' 531,nn.2-3, from edn. of

Molanus (1595) and of Malbrancq (1647). This addition does not appear in the Hyde Breviary, vol. iv, nor in the Vita secunda, ed. Leland, Collectanea, cf. Grierson, 'Grimbald,' 532,n.3.

56. Grierson, 'Grimbald,' 551, suggested that his removal may have been caused by the election of Hucbald, Grimbald's junior, as master of St. Bertin in that year.

57. Ed. D. Whitelock, et al., Councils and Synods, with other Documents relating to the English Church, I. A.D. 871-1204: pt. 1: 871-1066 (Oxford, 1981), 6-12; trans. S. Keynes and M. Lapidge, 'The Letter of Fulco, archbishop of Rheims, to King Alfred,' Alfred the Great: Asser's "Life of King Alfred" and other contemporary sources (Penguin, 1983), 182-6, with notes, 331-3.

58. Cf. 855 charter of Thanckirchen, which states that Bishop Arno of Freising gave the priest Herolf several books when he became 'chorepiscopus' of Thanckirchen; see Chapter One, 19-20.

59. Cf., Alfred's prose preface to his translation of Gregory's Pastoral Care where he notes the deplorable state of learning; ed. H. Sweet, King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care (EETS, 45, 1871), v.1, 6-7; trans. S. Keynes and M. Lapidge, Alfred the Great, 124-126.

60. 'Alcuini Epistolae,' Epistolae Karolini Aevi, v.2, ed. E. Duemmler, MGH, Epp. 4 (1895; reprint 1974); cf. epp. no.121, esp. p.177, line 4ff. Grierson, 'Grimbald,' 553,nn.2-4, argued that CCCC 223, a compilation of Prudentius which was in England by the first half of the tenth century, but which was written or arrived at St. Bertin in the reign of Charles the Bald, may have been brought to England by Grimbald. Grierson, 'Grimbald,' 552,n.5, noted that Grimbald may have brought across the Utrecht Psalter, which was written in the Rheims neighborhood (Hautvillers) in 816-835, and which was in England by the early eleventh century, when it influenced the illustration of Harley 603; but the evidence is tenuous.

61. For discussion of Grimbald's arrival to England, see S. Keynes and M. Lapidge, Alfred the Great, 27, and 213,n.23.

62. Cited W. de Gray Birch, 'On Two Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in the British Library,' Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature of the U.K., 2nd. series, 11(1878), 494; see discussion above in Chapter Three, Part (d).

63. S. Keynes, 'King Athelstan's Books', 161, and n.96.

64. But Dumville, ASE, 16, 169, prefers that 'their outer limits of date should perhaps be described as c.890 x 930 (s.ix/x).'

Notes to part (e)

65. I have in preparation a separate study of the glosses and their significance for the history of the A.IV.19, which is intended for future publication.

66. The last four folios (ff.85r-88v) of the last quire, which also contains the Cuthbert collects and the colophon, carry the 'educational' texts: an alphabetical list of abbreviations of Latin words, a note on Roman imperial dignitaries, and an alphabet of words composed on the general theme of sin and redemption. Aldred wrote them in a single campaign following an earlier addition of the choral incipits for the Advent Sundays on f.84r-v, except for a gap of ten lines at the bottom of f.87v, when he began a new text on f.88r, listing the burial places of the apostles and St. Stephen. See EEMF 16(1969), 14 (for codicology), and 51 (for textual description).

67. A novelty which attracted the attention of many nineteenth-century linguists, including Sir James Murray, who was allowed to borrow the manuscript(!) on 8 April 1878, in an attempt to improve on the 1841 Surtees Society edition of J.Stevenson; but he never finished the task. See K.M.E. Murray, Caught in the Web of Words (1977), 98 and 360,n.46. See the 'Aldrediana series' for an important collection of linguistic studies on Aldred's glosses; A.S.C. Ross, 'Aldrediana XVII: Ritual Supplement,' English Philological Studies, 11(1968), 1-43, provides a full annotated bibliography.

68. S. Keynes, Learning and Literature, 170 n.135, notes interpolated passages in the Historia de sancto Cuthberto concerning the date.

69. DC 48.8, 'Rege qs dne populum tuum':RC 14, 'Rege qs dne famulam tuam', for the queen with all endings changed to the feminine. Other liturgical correspondences are: DC 23.4::RC 31; DC 195.16::RC 48; DC 212.16::RC 47,57, all presumably without significant variations.

70. A.J. Piper, 'The Libraries of the Monks of Durham,' Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries, ed. M.B. Parkes and A.G. Watson (1978), 216, argues that the inventories were limited to books within the library precincts, omitting those 'on loan' or those shelved or stored elsewhere, eg. the 'Two lives of s. Cuthbert', which according to R.A.B. Mynors, Durham Cathedral Manuscripts, 1939, 26, was 'no doubt kept among the treasures of the cathedral church.'

71. Cf. Mynors, 'Stonyhurst', The Relics of St. Cuthbert, ed. C.F. Battiscombe (1956), 357.

72. Note also the absence of the Lotharingian saints which should be a common feature of the sanctoral from Winchester books at this time; see note in Part 1 above.

73. Cf. lack of St. Benedict Nativity on 21 March. Cf. DR 585 (Lindelof ed., p.96): 'Praesta qs o. ds ut famulum tuum cuius hodie comam capitis sui pro diuino amore deposuimus ut in tua dilectio [sic] permaneant et eum sine macula in sempiternum custodias,' formula for the priestly tonsure, not monastic; it occurs also in the Baturich Collectar-and-Pontifical, Bt 457, for Ad clericum faciendum; also in Zwei Karolingische Pontifikalien von Oberrhein, ed. M.J. Metzger (Freiburg i. Br., 1914), no. 4(v).

74. A.B. Kuypers, ed. The Prayerbook of Aedeluald the Bishop commonly called the Book of Cerne (1913), no.61, with variants. Does its appearance at Chester-le-Street give evidence for a northern nucleus in the Book of Cerne in the controversy over its true origins?

75. 'Pro aepiscopo nostro'; 'pro fidelibus defunctis'; 'pro benefactoribus nostris'; 'pro afflictis et captiuis'. Cf. DR ff.80v-82r (Lindelof edn., pp.175-179); and Tolhurst, Hyde Abbey, v.6, pp.21,25,26,24, respectively.

76. F. Barlow, The English Church: 1000-1066, (2nd. edn., 1979), 230; Tolhurst, Hyde Abbey, v.6, 20,n.5.

77. Barlow, English Church, 230. N. Brooks, The Early History of the Church of Canterbury: Christ Church from 597 to 1066 (1984), 163, 358,n.31. F.M. Stenton, The Early History of the Abbey of Abingdon (1913), 38, 44-5. See Part 4 above.



78. The antiphons and responsorial material for the Biblical readings on ff.64v-65r are a mixture of monastic and secular formulae; cf. Hartker's Antiphonary of St. Gall, s.x/s.xi, ed. R.-J. Hesbert, Corpus Antiphonalium Officii, v.2, probably used as a reference book for his contemporaries at St. Gallen.

79. See N.R. Ker's reservations about the use of the term 'scriptorium' in reference to tenth-century Chester-le-Street cited in Evangeliorum Quattuor Codex Lindisfarnensis, ed. T.J. Brown, et. al. (1960), v.2, 31,n9.

80. Wormald, EEMF, 48-49; Frere, The Leofric Collectar, v.2, xxvi, for a list of the calendrical histories. Lections for the weeks after Pentecost through August occur on f.76v.

81. Ff.64v-65v, four hymns for Passiontide(2), Lent, Easter; ff.77r-77v, four hymns for ferial hours, Prime-None; f.77v, hymn for Easter; f.77v, hymn for Sunday evening (winter); f.82r-v, hymn for Compline (summer?). See Gneuss, Hymnar, 101-102.

82. For Aldred's colophon to the Lindisfarne Gospels, see Codex Lindisfarnensis, v.2, Book II, 6. For his colophon to the A.IV.19, see ibid, v.2, Book II, 25-26; and Lindelof, ed., Rituale Ecclesiae, 185.

83. Cf. Lowe, CLA, v.2, no.235; Codex Lindisfarnensis, v.2, Book II, 32,n.8.

84. For an example of a substantial tradition of Biblical glosses which lay behind Anselm of Laon's Glossa Ordinaria, cf. B. Smalley, 'La Glossa Ordinaria: quelques prédécesseurs d'Anselme de Laon,' Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale 9(1937), 365-400.

85. M. Lapidge, 'The Study of Latin Texts in Late Anglo-Saxon England: (1) the evidence of latin glosses,' Latin and the Vernacular Languages in Early Medieval Britain, ed. N. Brooks (1982), 125.

86. Bede, 'In Proverbia Salomonis, Libri III,' Bedae Venerabilis Opera, 2,b: Opera Exegetica, ed. D. Hurst (CCsl, 119B, 1983), 23-163.

87. Brown, EEMF, 26: 'the quality of the gloss is rather better when Aldred is glossing his own main text (66[70]r - 67[71]v5, 77r - 84r and 85r - 88v) than when he is glossing the work of others (1r - 53r and 54v - 61v10).'

88. A. Squires, 'Collation of the Anglo-Saxon Gloss to the Durham Ritual,' Notes and Queries, 216(1971), 362-366; ibid, 'Some Curious Abbreviations in the Durham Ritual,' Notes and Queries, 218(1973), 409; A.S.C. Ross, 'Conservatism in the Anglo-Saxon Gloss to the Durham Ritual,' Notes and Queries, 215(1970), 365, 363-366;

G.C. Britten and Ross, 'Aldrediana X: Manifesta,' Anglia, 78(1960), 129-168. Lapidge, Latin and the Vernacular Languages, 125-127, distinguishes between a private or public study-text.

89. Brown, Codex Lindisfarnensis, 30.

90. Was the A.IV.19 Aldred's commonplace book? Cf. the very good argument for isolated gatherings and the ease with which they could be transported, Brown, EEMF, 17, esp.n.4.

91. Hohler, 'Durham Services in Honour of St. Cuthbert,' The Relics of St. Cuthbert, 158, and n.2: 'the fourth prayer added is the proper preface of the Gelasian votive 'For time of Plague' without its opening formulae.' Ibid, 'The Type of Sacramentary used by St. Boniface,' Sankt Bonifatius, ed. C. Raabe, et al., (1954), 92,n.9. cites Leonine or Ambrosian rites among the ancient sources.

92. MrJ, 'semper et ubique protege'. Instead of F, 'ab hostium insidiis protege semper et gubernat'.

93. Ed. H.A. Wilson, The Missal of Robert of Jumièges (HBS, 11, 1896), xxxix-xl; J.B.L. Tolhurst, 'Le missel de Robert de Jumièges,' Jumièges Congres, v.1 (1955), 292, favors Ely. Hohler, 'Les saints insulaires dans le missel de l'Archevêque Robert,' ibid, 296 and 301, discounts Peterborough, but cautions against Ely also.

94. Hohler, Relics, 158. I take it that since Aldred copied these prayers, he was not familiar with the mass in spite of Hohler's argument that the Lindisfarne community must have received the mass by mid-eighth century on account of it appearing in the books of York, Whitby and Guisborough.

95. Cf. the office of St. Cuthbert with the hymn 'Magnus Miles' and with the special mass which were composed for the court chapel of Athelstan or his father, and were transmitted to Durham c.934-7, written into CCCC Ms.183 (the Two Lives of St. Cuthbert); see Hohler, Relics, 157; for dating of CCCC 183, see S. Keynes, Learning and Literature, 180-183, esp.183.

## Appendix I.1

Rubrics in the DC: listed in sequential order

with commentary and corrections in parentheses,  
and with reconstructions of missing texts in angle brackets

- .1 [ITEM CAPITULA IN EPIPHANIA]  
.2 ITEM COLLECTA IN EPIPHANIA  
.3 IIII. NON' FEBR' PURIFICATIO SANCTE MARIAE (capitula)  
.4 ITEM COLLECTIONES (purificatio s. Mariae)  
.5 ITEM CAPITULA IN CAPUT IEIUNII  
.6 INCIP' CAPITULA IN LXX.  
.7 IN LX. (capitula)  
.8 HAE SUNT COLLECTIONES IN SEPTUAGESIMA USQUE CAPUT IEIUNII  
.9 FERIA .IIII. CAPUT IEIUNIUM  
.10 CAPIT' IN QUADRAGESIMA .I.  
.11 COLLECTIONES UNDE SUPRA (caput ieium)  
.12 ITEM CAPIT' EX PROFETIS DE PASSIONE DOMINI  
.13 ITEM CAPITULE EX APOSTOLORUM (de passione dni)  
.14 ITEM COLLECTA (de passione dni)  
.15 CAPITULA DE RESURRECTIONE DOMINI  
.16 COLLECTA IN SABATO SANCTO PASCHA  
.17 HAE SUNT CAPITULAE IN LAETANIA MAIORE.  
.18 [ORATIONES COTIDIANAE]  
.19 ITEM ALIA ORAT PRO PECCATIS  
.20 ITEM ALIA INCIPUNT CAP' MAIORUM SOLEMNITATUM  
.21 IN NAT' SC'I STEPHANI. MARTIRIS (26 dec, capitula)  
.22 ITEM COLLECTE UNDE SUPRA (26 dec, nat. s. stephani)  
.23 VI. KL' IANU' NT'. SC'I IOHAN' EUANG' (27 dec, capitula)  
.24 ITEM COLLECTIONES (27 dec, nat. s. iohannis euang.)  
.25 IN NT'. INNOCENTIUM (28 dec, capitula)  
.26 ITEM COLLECTIONES AD INNOCENTES (28 dec)  
.27 .II KL' IAN' NA' SC'I SILVESTRI (31 dec)  
.28 XVIII. KL' FEBRU' NT' SC'E FELICIS (14 ian =xix,  
sc'i felix in pincis)  
.29 XVI. KL' FEB' NT' SC'E MARCELLE (16 ian =xvii, sc'i marcelli)  
.30 XV. KL' FEB' NT' SC'E PRISCE MA' (18 ian)  
.31 XIII. KL' FEB' NT' SC'E FABIANI MAR'. (20 ian =sc'i)  
.32 EODEM DIE SC'I SEBASTI' (20 ian)  
.33 XII. KL' FEBRU' NT' SC'E AGNETIS UIR' (21 ian)  
.34 XI. KL' SC'I VINCENTI MAR' (22 ian)  
.35 .V. KL' OCTAVAS AGNETIS (28 ian)  
.36 N FEB' SC'E AGATHE UIR' (5 feb)  
.37 .VI. DECIMA KL' MAI' SC'I VALENTINI (14 feb =martii)  
.38 .IIII. ID' MART' SC'I GREGO' PAP'. (12 mar)  
.39 .VIII. KL' APR'L' ADNUNTIO SC'E MARIE. (25 mar)  
.40 .XVIII. KL' MAI' SCOR' TIBURTII ET VALERIANI (14 apr =et maximi)  
.41 .IX. KL'. MAI' SC'I GEORGII. MAR' (23 apr)  
.42 VII. KL' MAI'. NAT'. SC'I MARCI EUANG' (25 apr)  
.43 .IIII. KL' MAI' SC'I VITALIS MART'. (28 apr)  
.44 .KL' MAI' AP'LOR' PILIPHI ET IACOBI (1 mai =philippi)  
.45 .V. NO' MAI' SC'OR' ALEXANDRI EUENTI ET THEODORI (3 mai  
=theodoli)

- .46 .II. N . MAI. SC'I IOHAN'. ANTE PORTA LATINA. (6 mai  
=portam latinam)
- .47 VI. ID' MAI'. SC'OR' GORDIANI ET EPIMACHI (10 mai)
- .48 IIII. ID' MAI'. SC'OR' NEREI ] ALCILLEI ] PANCRAII (12 mai  
=achillei)
- .49 [nat. s. Mariae ad martyres] (13 mai)
- .50 VIII. KL' IUNI' SC'I URBANI EPIS'. (25 mai)
- .51 .IIII. N . IUNI' SC'OR' MARCELLINI ET PETRI (2 iun)
- .52 .V. ID' IUNI. SC'OR' PRIMI ET FELICIANI (9 iun)
- .53 II. ID' IUN' SCOR' BASILIDIS CIRINI NABORIS ET NAZARII. (12 iun)
- .54 IIII. KL' IULI MARCI ET MARCELLIANI. (18 iun =xiv)
- .55 III. KL' IULI SC'OR' PROTASI ET GERUASI. (19 iun =xiii kl iuli)
- .56 VIIII. KL' IULI UIGIGILIA SC' IOHAN' BAB' (23 iun, capitula  
=uigilia, bap.)
- .57 ITEM COLLECTA (24 iun., collecta ad nat. s. ioh. bap.)
- .58 VI. KL' IUL' SCOR' IOHA' ET PAULI. (26 iun)
- .59 IIII. KAL' IULI SC'E LEONIS PAPE. (28 iun =sc'i)
- .60 III. KL' IULI PAS' SC'I PETRI APL'I. (29 iun, capitula ad nat.)
- .61 SECUNTUR COLLECTE. (29 iun, ad nat. s. petri =collectae)
- .62 II. KL'. SC'I PAULI APL'I. (30 iun, capitula ad nat.)
- .63 SECUNTUR COL' (30 iun, collecta ad nat. s. pauli)
- .64 .II. N IULI OCTAUAS APL'ORUM (6 iul, capitula)
- .65 SECUNTUR COLL' (6 iul, collecta ad oct. apostolorum)
- .66 VI. N . IULI SC'OR' PROCESSI ET MARTINIANI (2 iul)
- .67 .IIII. N . IULI TRANSLAT' BEATI MARTINI (4 iul)
- .68 VI. ID' IULI. SC'OR' VII. FRATRE' FILIOR' SC'E FELICITATIS  
(10 iul)
- .69 V. ID' KL' IULI NT' S'E BENEDICTI ABB'. (11 iul  
=translatio, sc'i)
- .70 VIII. KL' AGUS' NT' SC'I IACOPI AP'LI (25 iul =iacobi)
- .71 IIII. KL' AG' SCOR' FELICISSIME SIMPLICI FAUSTINI (29 iuli  
=felicis, simplici)
- .72 .III. KL' AGUSTUS. SCORUM ABDO ET SENNES. (30 iul =abdon)
- .73 KL' AGUSTUS SCOR' MACHABEOR'. VII. FR'M CUM M'RE. (1 aug)
- .74 .IIII. NON' AGUSTUS SC'I STEPHANI. EPIS. ET MARTYRIS. (2 aug)
- .75 [IIII ID' AUGUSTUS SC'I LAURENTI] (10 aug)
- .76 III. ID' AGU' SC'I TIBURTI MAR' (11 aug =tiburtii)
- .77 ID' AGU' N' SC'I YPOLITE (13 aug =yppoliti)
- .78 XVIIII. KL' SEPTE' SC'E EUSEBI P'SBIT' (14 aug =sc'i eusebii)
- .79 ADSUMP' SC'A MARIAE (15 aug, capitula =sc'ae)
- .80 COLLECTE (15 aug, adsumptio s. Mariae =collectae)
- .81 XVI KL' SEPT'B. OCTAUAS SC'I LAURENTII (17 aug)
- .82 XV KL' SEPT' SC'I AGAPITE MAR' (18 aug =agapiti)
- .83 XI KL' SEPT' SC'I THIMOTHEI (23 aug =timothei)
- .84 VIIII KL' SEP' SC'I BARTHOLOMEI AP'SLI (24 aug)
- .85 IIII. KL' SEP' PAS' IOHANNIS BAB' (29 aug =bap.)
- .86 III KL' SEP' SC'OR' FILICIS (30 aug =felicis et adauti)
- .87 VI IDUS SEPT' NATIUITAS SC'A MARIAE (8 sept, capitula =sc'ae)
- .88 ITEM COLLECTIONES (8 sept, nat. s. mariae)
- .89 [III KAL' OCT' CAPITULA IN FESTIUITATE SC'I MICHAELIS  
ARCHANGELI] (29 sept)
- .90 [COLLECTA IN FESTIUITATE SC'I MICHAELIS ARCHANGELI] (29 sept)
- .91 NO' OCT'B NT' SC'I MARCI PAPE (7 oct)
- .92 VII ID' OCTB' SC'OR' DIONISI RUSTICE ET ELEUTERI (9 oct  
=dionysii, rustici, eleutherii)
- .93 II. ID' OCTEMB' SC'I CALISTI PAPE (14 oct)

- .94 XV. KL' NOUEMB' SC'E [LUCAE] EVAN' (28 oct =sc'i)
- .95 .V. KL' NOUEMB' PASSIO SIMONIS ET IUDE (28 oct)
- .96 II. KL' NOUEM' SC'I QUINTINI (31 oct)
- .97 EODEM DIE UIGILIA OM'IUM SCOR' (31 oct)
- .98 KL' NOUEMB' NT' OM'IUM SC'OR' (1 nou)
- .99 ITEM COLLECTIONES IN COTIDIANIS DIEBUS (in honore  
omnium sanctorum)
- .100 ITEM IN COTIDIANIS DIEBUS UT SUPRA (collectae in honore  
omnium sanctorum)
- .101 VI IDUS OCTB' SC'OR' MAR' CORON' (8 nou, nou'b)
- .102 V. ID' NOUEMB' NAT' SC'I TEOTHORII MR' (9 nou =theodor1)
- .103 III.. ID' NOVB' NT' SC'I MARTINI EPS' (11 nou)
- .104 .X. KL' DEC' NAT' SC'A CECILIAE MAR' UIRG' (22 no =sc'ae)
- .105 NONA KL' DEC' NT' SC'I CLEMENTIS PAPAE (23 nou)
- .106 VIII KL' DEC' SC'I CRISOGONI MAR' (24 nou)
- .107 III KL' DEC' SC'I SATURNINI MR' (29 nou)
- .108 II KL' DEC' PAS' SC'I ANDREAE APS' (30 nou, capitula)
- .109 SECUNTUR COLLECTIONES DE SC'O ANDREO (30 nou)
- .110 IDUS DEC' NT' SC'I LUCIAE (13 dec =sc'ae)
- .111 XII KL' IAN' SC'I THOMEI APS' (21 dec =thomae)
- .112 [INITIO COMMUNIS SANCTORUM]
- .113 IN VIGILIA UNIVS APOSTOLI (capitula)
- .114 SECUNTUR COLL' AD UIGILIAS APS'R' (unius apostoli =ad uigiliam)
- .115 IT' IN UIG' APS' (capitula in nat. apostolorum)
- .116 IT' COLL' APS'R'. (collectiones in nat. apostolorum)
- .117 IN UIGIL' UNIVS MAR'. (capitula)
- .118 [IT' COLLECTIONES IN UIGIL' UNIVS MAR']
- .119 IN UIG' MAR' (capitula in nat. martirum)
- .120 SECUN' COL' AD UIGIL' (in nat. martirum)
- .121 IN NAT' UNIVS CONFESSORES (capitula)
- .122 [IT' COLLECTIONES IN NAT' UNIVS CONFESSORES]
- .123 IN ECCLESIA CUIUSLIBET SC'I MARTIRIS SIUE CONFESSORIS  
(collecta in nat. unius confessoris)
- .124 [CAPITULA IN NAT' PLURIMORUM CONFESSORUM]
- .125 [IT' COLLECTIONES IN NAT. PLURIMORUM CONFESSORUM]
- .126 IN NT' PLURIMORUM MARTIR' (capitula in nat. sanctorum  
confessorum[?])
- .127 [IT' COLLECTIONES IN NAT' PLURIMORUM SANCTORUM(?)]
- .128 AD CRUCEM SALUTANDAM (collectiones)



# Appendix I.11

Incipits --- explicitis of liturgical formulae in DC:  
listed in sequential order

- 1.1 +[Ne detis . . . Hie]rusalem laudem in terra (Is 62.7)
- 2.1 +Ecce seruus meus (Is 42.1)
- 3.1 +Domine ds meus honorificabo (Is 25.1 [Cf.])
- 4.1 +Domine excelsum est brachium (-----)
- 5.1 +Exultet desertum (-----)
- 6.1 +Haec dicit dns aperiam in montibus (Is 41.18 [Cf.])
- 7.1 +Ecce puer meus exaltabitur (Is 52.13)
- 8.2 Deus qui hodierna die unigenitum tuum --- ad contemplandam speciem
- 9.2 Deus inluminator omnium genitum --- infunde cordibus
- 10.2 Deus cuius unigenitus in substantia --- reformari mereamur
- 11.2 Omnipotens s. ds fidelium splendor animarum --- claritatem
- 12.2 Concede o. ds ut salutare tuum --- cordibus oriatur
- 13.2 Da nobis qs dne digne celebrare --- humanitas
- 14.2 Praesta qs o. ds ut saluatoris mundi --- crescat
- 15.2 Inlumina dne qs populum tuum --- ueraciter adprehendat
- 16.3 +Ego quasi uitis fructificaui (Sir 24.23)
- 17.3 +Ego mater pulchrae dilectionis (Sir 24.24-25)
- 18.3 +Transite ad me omnes (Sir 24.26-28)
- 19.3 +Osculetur me osculo oris sui (Ct 1.1; 4.10)
- 20.3 +Pulchra est gena tua (Ct 1.9,10)
- 21.3 +Ecce tu pulchra es (Ct 1.14)
- 22.3 +Dum esset rex (Ct 1.11,12)
- 23.4 Erudi qs dne plebem tuam --- gratiae tuae luce
- 24.4 Omnipotens s. ds maiestatem --- mentibus presentari
- 25.4 Perfice in nobis qs dne gratiam tuam --- obtineamus aeternam
- 26.5 +Haec dicit dns conuertimini ad me (Ioel 2.12,13)
- 27.5 +Conuertimini ad dnm (Ioel 2.13)
- 28.5 +Clama ne cesses (Is 58.1,2)
- 29.5 +Cum effuderis esurienti (Is 58.10)
- 30.5 +Ecce non est adbreuiata manus (Is 59.1)
- 31.6 +Fratres nescitis quod hii qui in stadio (I Cor 9.24)
- 32.6 +Fratres omnis qui in agone contendit (I Cor 9.25)
- 33.6 +Fratres ego igitur sic curro (I Cor 9.26)
- 34.7 +Fratres libenter gloriabor in infirmitatibus (II Cor 12.9)
- 35.7 +Fratres cum essem paruulus (I Cor 13.11)
- 36.7 +Fratres nunc autem manent fides (I Cor 13. 13)
- 37.7 +Fratres nemini quicquam debeatis (Rm 13.8)
- 38.7 +Fratres si quod est mandatum (Rm 13.9)
- 39.7 +Fratres dilectio proximi malum (Rm 13.10)
- 40.8 Praeces populi tui qs dne clementer --- liberemur
- 41.8 Deus qui conspicias quia ex nulla --- protectione tua muniamur
- 42.8 Praeces nostras qs dne clementer exaudi atque --- custodi
- 43.8 Deus qui per ineffabilem --- mentibus exsequamur
- 44.8 Concede qs o. ds fragilitati --- cum exaltatione suscipiat
- 45.8 Aufer a nobis dne qs iniquitates --- sensibus introire
- 46.8 Deus qui nos in tantis periculis --- te adiuuante uincamus
- 47.8 Omnipotens s. ds infirmitatem --- maiestatis extende
- 48.8 Rege qs dne populum tuum --- gaudiat institutis
- 49.9 Concede nobis dne praesidia militiae --- muniamur auxiliis

50.9 Praesta dne fidelibus tuis --- deuotione percurrant  
 51.9 Tuere dne populum tuum --- dnetur iniquitas  
 52.9 Deus qui culpa offenderis --- meremur auerte  
 53.9 Inchoata ieiunia qs dne --- implere sinceris  
 54.9 Da qs dne fidelibus tuis ieiuniis --- proficiat animarum  
 55.9 Fac nos qs dne salutis nostrae --- principaliter inchoatas  
 56.9 Adiuua nos ds noster ut inchoata --- mentibus assequamur  
 57.9 Obsecrationis huius annua --- effectibus gaudeamus  
 58.9 Adesto dne supplicationibus nostris ut hoc --- celebremus  
 59.10 +Haec dicit dns ds ecce ego ipse requiram (Ez 34.11,12)  
 60.10 +Visitabo oues meas (Ez 34.12)  
 61.10 +Ego pascam oues meas (Ez 34.15)  
 62.10 +Uir si fuerit iustus (Ez 18.5,8)  
 63.10 +In praeceptis meis ambulauerit (Ez 18.9)  
 64.10 +Haec dicit dns ds anima quae peccauerit (Ez 18.20)  
 65.10 +Haec dicit dns ds cum auerterit se impius (Ez 18.27)  
 66.10 +Querite dnm dum inueniri potest (Is 55.6)  
 67.10 +Derelinquat impius uiam suam (Is 55.7)  
 68.10 +Miserere nostri ds omnium (Sir 36.1)  
 69.10 +Peccauimus iniquitatem fecimus (Dn 9.15,16)  
 70.10 +Filii si habes bene fac tecum (Sir 14.11,12)  
 71.10 +Filii conuertere ad dm (Sir 17.21,22)  
 72.10 +Filii peccasti ne adicias iterum (Sir 21.1)  
 73.10 +Fratres operamini opus uestrum (Sir 51.38)  
 74.10 +Fratres ortamur uos ne in uacuum (II Cor 6.1,2)  
 75.10 +Fratres ecce nunc tempus acceptabile (II Cor 6.2-4)  
 76.10 +Fratres rogamus uos corripite inquietos (I Th 5.14)  
 77.10 +Fratres uidete ne quis malum (I Th 5.15)  
 78.10 +Fratres semper gaudete sine intermissione (I Th 5.16-18)  
 79.10 +Fratres estote imitatores dei (Eph 5.1,2)  
 80.10 +Fratres eratis enim aliquando tenebrae (Eph 5.8,9)  
 81.10 +Fratres omnis sermo malus ex ore uestro (Eph 4.29)  
 82.10 +Fratres nolite contristari spiritum sanctum (Eph 4.30)  
 83.10 +Fratres omnis amaritudo et ira (Eph 4.31)  
 84.10 +Fratres estote inuicem benigni misericordes (Eph 4.32)  
 85.10 +Fratres semper nos qui uiuimus in mortem (II Cor 4.11)  
 86.10 +Fratres omnes nos manifestari oportet (II Cor 5.10)  
 87.10 +Fratres potens est ds omnem gratiam (II Cor 9.8)  
 88.10 +Fratres gaudete perfecti estote (II Cor 13.11)  
 89.10 +Fratres nemo uos iudicet (Col 2.16-18)  
 90.10 +Fratres induite uos sicut electi (Col 3.12,13)  
 91.10 +Fratres pax christi exultet in cordibus uestris (Col 3.15,16)  
 92.10 +Fratres omne quodcumque facitis (Col 3.17)  
 93.11 Deus qui ecclesiam tuam annua --- operibus exequamur  
 94.11 Da nobis qs o. ds aeternae promissionis --- citius inuenire  
 95.11 Adesto qs dne supplicationibus nostris --- custodi  
 96.11 Conuerte nos ds salutaris noster --- instrue disciplinis  
 97.11 Respice dne familiam tuam et praesta --- castigat  
 98.11 Praeces nostras qs dne clementer exaudi --- extende  
 99.11 Deuotionem populi tui qs dne benignus --- in mente  
 100.11 Mentis nostras qs dne lumine --- agere ualeamus  
 101.11 Da qs dne populis christianis --- frequentant  
 102.11 Esto dne propitius plebi tuae --- miseratus auxilio  
 103.11 Populum tuum dne qs propitius respice atque ab --- auerte  
 104.11 Protector noster aspice ds --- famulemur  
 105.11 Adesto qs dne supplicationibus nostris --- securi

106.11 Actiones nostras qs dne --- finiatur  
 107.11 Deus qui conspicias omni nos --- in mente  
 108.11 Praesta qs o. ds ut familia tua quae --- ieiunet  
 109.11 Perfice qs dne benignus in nobis --- impleamus  
 110.11 Populum tuum dne propitius respice --- cessare concede  
 111.11 Praesta nobis dne qs auxilium --- mentis et corporis  
 112.11 Da qs o. ds ut sacro --- facias peruenire  
 113.11 Da qs dne nostris effectum ieiuniorum --- transeat animarum  
 114.11 Familiam tuam qs dne continua --- protectione muniatur  
 115.11 Cordibus nostris qs dne benignus --- retrahamus excessibus  
 116.11 Subueniat nobis dne misericordia --- saluari  
 117.11 Praesta nobis qs dne ut salutaribus --- impetremus  
 118.11 Concede qs o. ds ut qui protectionis --- seruiamus  
 119.11 Ieiunia nostra qs dne benigno --- in mente  
 120.11 Deus qui in deserti --- deficiamus impende  
 121.11 Deus qui et iustis --- percipere delictorum  
 122.11 Praesta qs o. ds ut quos ieiunia --- capiamus  
 123.11 Deus qui ineffabilibus --- destituatur auxiliis  
 124.11 Fiat dne qs pro gratiam --- placita pietati  
 125.11 Deus qui sperantibus in te --- inuenire ualeamus  
 126.12 +Super montem caligosum leuate (Is 13.2)  
 127.12 +Haec dicit dns ego sum ego sum (Is 43.25)  
 128.12 +In tempore placito exaudiui te (Is 49.8)  
 129.12 +Dominus ds aperuit mihi (Is 50.5-6)  
 130.12 +Dominus ds auxiliator meus (Is 50.7)  
 131.12 +Quis ex uobis timens dnm (Is 50.10)  
 132.12 +Domine quis credidit (Is 53.1)  
 133.12 +Omnes nos quasi oues (Is 53.6,7)  
 134.12 +Sana me dne et sanabor (Ier 17.14)  
 135.12 +Pars mea dns dixit anima mea (Lam 3.24,25)  
 136.12 +Bonum est praestolari (Lam 3.26,31,32)  
 137.12 +Scrutetur uias nostras et queramus (Lam 3.40,41)  
 138.12 +Ne auertas dne aurem tuam (Lam 3.56,57)  
 139.12 +Iudicasti dne causam (Lam 3.58)  
 140.12 +In tempore placito exaudiui te (Is 49.8-9)  
 141.13 +Fratres christus adsistens pontifex (Hbr 9.11-12)  
 142.13 +Fratres hoc enim sentite in uobis (Phil 2.5-7)  
 143.13 +Fratres christus humiliavit semet (Phil 2.8)  
 144.13 +Fratres christus semel pro peccatis nostris (I Pt 3.18)  
 145.13 +Fratres christo igitur passo (I Pt 4.1)  
 146.13 +Fratres ds autem omnis gratiae (I Pt 5.10-11)  
 147.13 +Fratres cum adhuc peccatores (Rm 5.8,10)  
 148.13 +Fratres si ds pro nobis (Rm 8.31-32)  
 149.13 +Fratres mihi autem absit gloriari (Gal 6.14)  
 150.14 Deus o. ds familiam tuam --- in mente  
 151.14 Omnipotens s. ds qui humano --- consortia mereamur  
 152.14 Da qs o. ds ut qui in tot --- liberemur  
 153.14 Adiua nos ds salutaris noster --- gaudentes  
 154.14 Sanctifica qs dne nostra ieiunia --- culparum  
 155.14 Nostra tibi dne qs sint accepta --- perducant aeterna  
 156.14 Omnipotens s. ds da nobis --- percipere mereamur  
 157.14 Praesta qs o. ds ut qui nostris --- liberemur  
 158.14 Deus qui pro nobis filium --- gratiam consequamur  
 159.14 Largire sensibus nostris o. ds --- confidamus  
 160.14 Respice dne qs super hanc familiam --- subire tormentum  
 161.14 Da misericors ds ut quod --- sentiamus

162.14 Praesta qs o. et misericors ds ut sicut --- credentium  
 163.15 +Benedictus ds et pater (I Pt 1.3-4)  
 164.15 +Fratres scientes quod non corruptibilibus (I Pt 1.18,19)  
 165.15 +Fratres si consurrexistis cum christo (Col 3.1,2)  
 166.15 +Fratres mortui estis et uita uestra (Col 3.3,4)  
 167.15 +Fratres expurgate uetus fermentum (I Cor 5.7)  
 168.15 +Fratres epulemur non in fermento ueteri (I Cor 5.8)  
 169.15 +Fratres deponentes omnem malitiam (I Pt 2.1,2)  
 170.15 +Fratres uos genus electum (I Pt 2.9,10)  
 171.15 +Karissimi christus semel pro peccatis (I Pt 3.18)  
 172.15 +Fratres christus passus est pro nobis (I Pt 2.21,22)  
 173.15 +Fratres quicumque baptizati sunt (Rm 6.3,4)  
 174.15 +Fratres hoc scientes quia uetus homo (Rm 6.6,7)  
 175.15 +Fratres si mortui sumus cum christo (Rm 6.8,9)  
 176.15 +Fratres nemo nostrum sibi uiuit (Rm 14.7,8)  
 177.15 +Fratres in hoc christus mortuus est (Rm 14.9)  
 178.15 +Fratres empti estis pretio magno (I Cor 6.20)  
 179.15 +Fratres christus resurrexit (I Cor 15.20-22)  
 180.15 +Fratres gratia uobis et pax (Gal 1.3,4)  
 181.15 +Fratres cum essemus mortui peccatis (Eph 2.5-6)  
 182.15 +Fratres per patientiam curamus (Hbr 12.1,2)  
 183.15 +Fratres ds autem pacis qui eduxit (Hbr 13.20,21)  
 184.15 +Carissimi omne quod natum est (I Io 5.4,5)  
 185.15 +Carissimi omne datum optimum (Iac 1.17,18)  
 186.15 +Scitis fratres mei dilectissimi (Iac 1.19,20)  
 187.15 +Fratres omnes uos filii lucis estis (I Th 5.5,6)  
 188.15 +Fratres nos qui diei sumus (I Th 5.8)  
 189.15 +Fratres non posuit nos ds in iram (I Th 5.9,10)  
 190.15 +Fratres consolamini inuicem (I Th 5.11)  
 191.15 +Fratres estote factores uerbi (Iac 1.22)  
 192.15 +Fratres qui perspexerit in legem (Iac 1.25)  
 193.15 +Fratres religio munda et immaculata (Iac 1.27)  
 194.15 +Dignus es dne ds accipere (Apc 5.9)  
 195.16 Deus qui hanc sacratissimam noctem --- seruitutem  
 196.16 Deus qui hodierna die per unigenitum --- proseguere  
 197.16 Concede qs o. ds ut qui resurrectionis --- resurgamus  
 198.16 Praesta qs o. ds ut qui resurrectionis --- mereamur  
 199.16 Praesta qs o. ds ut qui gratiam --- resurgamus  
 200.16 Deus qui ecclesiam tuam nouo --- perceperunt  
 201.16 Concede qs o. ds ut per haec paschalia --- uiuamus  
 202.16 Paschale mysterium recensentes --- exequendum  
 203.16 Deus ecclesiae tuae redemptor --- praedicari  
 204.16 Concede qs dne semper nos --- causa laetitiae  
 205.16 Deus qui solemnitate paschali --- proficiat sempiternam  
 206.16 Deus qui conspicias familiam tuam --- custodi  
 207.16 Deus qui nos resurrectionis --- mereamur  
 208.16 Praesta qs o. ds ut huius paschalis --- conferat sempiternam  
 209.16 Deus qui nos per paschalia festa --- teneamus  
 210.16 Tribue qs o. ds ut illuc --- substantia  
 211.16 Deus qui diuersitatem gentium --- actionum  
 212.16 Deus qui nobis ad celebrandum --- quod praecipis  
 213.16 Da qs o. ds ut ecclesia --- laetetur  
 214.16 Omnipotens s. ds deduc nos --- pastoris  
 215.16 Praesta nobis o. et misericors ds --- ueraciter portionem  
 216.16 Concede qs o. ds ut ueterem --- transtulisti  
 217.16 Repelle dne conscriptum peccati --- uacuasti



218.16 Deus qui ad aeternam uitam ... imple --- uestiri  
 219.16 Deus humani generis conditor --- sectemur  
 220.16 Deus qui renatis per aquam --- promissis  
 221.16 Gaudeat dne plops fidelis --- augmentis  
 222.16 Fac o. ds ut qui paschalibus --- auctoris  
 223.16 Deus qui nos fecisti --- gaudere  
 224.16 Familiam tuam qs dne dextera --- prosequatur  
 225.16 Concede qs misericors ds --- sentiamus  
 226.16 Paschalibus nobis qs dne --- inhiare celestia  
 227.16 Conserua in nobis qs dne --- facias documento  
 228.16 Omnipotens s. ds propensius --- cognouimus  
 229.16 Deus qui pro salute mundi --- aequalis absoluat  
 230.16 Deus qui ad aeternam uitam ... erige --- adueniat  
 231.16 Omnipotens s. ds qui humanam --- protectione conserua  
 232.16 Solita qs dne quos --- resurrectione laetentur  
 233.16 Praesta qs dne ds noster --- consequamur  
 234.16 Caelesti lumine qs dne --- percipiamus effectum  
 235.16 Gregem tuum pastor bone --- incursione lacerari  
 236.17 +Haec dicit dns circuite uias hierusalem (Ier 5.1)  
 237.17 +State per uias et uidete (Ier 6.16)  
 238.17 +Exercituum ds israel (Ier 7.3,7)  
 239.18 Emitte qs dne lucem tuam --- patiamur erroris  
 240.18 Deus qui diem discernis a nocte --- luce uiuamus  
 241.18 Gratias agamus dne sanctae pater --- gratias referamus  
 242.18 Exsurgentes de cubilibus nostris --- in luce uirtutum  
 243.18 Te lucem ueram et lucis --- luce uirtutum  
 244.18 Inlumina dne qs in te corda credentium --- protegatur  
 245.18 Inlumina qs dne tenebras nostras --- repelle propitius  
 246.18 Tua nos dne ueritas s. inluminet --- prauitate defendat  
 247.18 Salua nos o. ds --- concede perpetuam  
 248.18 Veritas tua qs dne luceat --- destruatur inimici  
 249.18 Quaesumus dne ds noster diei --- infirmitas  
 250.18 Exaudi nos misericors ds --- lumen ostende  
 251.18 Age in nobis dne qs fidem --- accende  
 252.18 Gratias agimus inenarrabile pietati --- principem  
 253.18 Deus qui tenebras ignorantiae --- possit extingui  
 254.18 Deus qui uigilantes in laudibus tuis --- gaudeamus  
 255.18 Adesto dne fidelibus tuis --- consolationis auxilium  
 256.18 Adesto dne populis tuis --- defensione conserua  
 257.18 Auxiliare dne populo tuo --- ducente consortium  
 258.18 Da populo tuo qs dne spiritum --- sectetur  
 259.18 Da nobis dne qs ut et mundi --- deuotione laetetur  
 260.18 Da salutem dne qs populo tuo --- beneficia consequantur  
 261.18 Porrige dexteram tuam qs dne --- gaudia comprehendat  
 262.19 Exaudi qs dne gemitum populi tui --- consequi mereamur  
 263.19 Exaudi qs dne supplicum praeces --- benignus et pacem  
 264.19 Exaudi dne gemitum populi tui --- fletibus supplicantium  
 265.19 Exaudi dne populum tuum tota ... ut corpore --- consequatur  
 266.19 Conserua qs dne populum tuum --- mente deseruiat  
 267.19 Deus cui proprium est misereri --- pietatis absoluat  
 268.19 Deus refugium pauperum spes --- faciat consolatos  
 269.19 Deus qui iuste irascaris --- propitiatus auerte  
 270.19 Deus qui nos conspicias in tot --- meremur auerte  
 271.19 Deus qui peccantium animas --- consequi mereamur  
 272.19 deprecationem nostram qs o. ds benignus --- auxilium  
 273.19 Praesta qs o. ds ut qui iram --- consequamur

274.19 Praecibus nostris qs dne aurem --- perueniant sempiternam  
 275.19 Praesta populo tuo dne qs consolationis --- respirare concede  
 276.19 Praesta qs o. ds ut qui offensa --- gratiam sentiamus  
 277.19 Afflictionem familiae tuae qs dne --- semper gloriemur  
 278.19 Ab omnibus nos qs dne peccatis --- mentibus seruiamus  
 279.19 Auxiliare dne quaerentibus misericordiam --- saluemur  
 280.19 Auerte qs dne iram tuam --- prouocamus expelle  
 281.19 Aures tuae pietatis qs dne --- gratia liberemur  
 282.19 Quaesumus o. ds ut qui nostris --- consequi mereamur  
 283.19 Deus o. ds afflictis populi --- consolatione liberemur  
 284.19 Subiectum tibi populum qs dne --- seruire mandatis  
 285.19 Moueat pietatem tuam qs dne --- largitate percipiat  
 286.19 Memor esto qs dne fragilitatis --- afflictis  
 287.19 Ne dispicias o. ds populum tuum --- succurre placatus  
 288.19 Tribulationem nostram qs dne --- propitiatus auerte  
 289.19 Intende qs dne praeces nostras --- respiremus auditi  
 290.21 +In diebus illis stephanus (Act 6.8)  
 291.21 +Surrexerunt quidam de synagoga (Act 6.9,10)  
 292.21 +Cum esset stephanus (Act 7.55,56)  
 293.21 +Positis genibus stephanus clamauit (Act 7.59)  
 294.21 +Curauerunt stephanum uiri timorati (Act 8.2,4)  
 295.22 Da nobis qs dne imitari --- persecutoribus exorare  
 296.22 Omnipotens s. ds qui primitias --- persecutoribus exorauit  
 297.22 Deus qui nos unigeniti tui clementer --- mysterii portionem  
 298.22 Gratias agimus dne multiplicatis --- deprecatione sustentas  
 299.22 Praesta qs o. ds ut beatus stephanus --- promptus adiutor  
 300.23 +Qui timet deum faciet bona (Sir 15.1,2)  
 301.23 +In medio ecclesiae (Sir 15.5)  
 302.23 +Iocunditatem et exultationem (Sir 15.6)  
 303.23 +Fratres benedictus ds et pater domini nostri (Eph 1.3)  
 304.23 +Beatus uir qui in sapientia (Sir 14.22 [519])  
 305.23 +Cibabit illum pane uitae (Sir 15.3)  
 306.24 Ecclesiam tuam dne benignus --- perueniat sempiterna  
 307.24 Beati iohannis euangelistae qs dne --- sempiterna concede (503)  
 308.24 Beati euangeliste iohannis qs dne --- intercessione donetur (504)  
 309.24 Sit dne beatus iohannes euangelista --- copiosius audiat (338)  
 310.24 Deus qui per os beati apostoli tui --- eruditione capiamus  
 311.24 Omnipotens s. ds qui huius ... iohannis --- quod docuit (421)  
 312.25 +In diebus illis uidi supra montem sion (Apc 14.1)  
 313.25 +Audiui uocem de caelo tam quam uocem (Apc 14.2)  
 314.25 +Cantabant sancti quasi canticum nouum (Apc 14.3)  
 315.25 +Hi sunt qui cum mulieribus (Apc 14.4)  
 316.25 +Hi sunt qui uenerunt (Apc 7.14,15; 14.13)  
 317.26 Deus cuius hodierna die praeconium --- uita fateatur  
 318.26 Deus qui licet sis magnus --- non loquentes  
 319.26 Discat ecclesia tua --- nosse presentem  
 320.26 Adiua nos dne qs eorum deprecatione --- gratia coronati  
 321.26 Ipsi nobis dne qs postulent --- solemniter celebramus  
 322.27 Da qs o. ds ut beati siluestri --- augeat et salutem  
 323.28 Concede qs o. ds ut ad meliorem uitam --- actus imitemur  
 324.29 Praeces populi tui qs dne clementer --- laetamur  
 325.30 Da qs o. ds ut qui beatae priscae --- proficiamus exemplo  
 326.31 Infirmitatem nostram respice o. ds --- nos protegat  
 327.32 Deus qui beatum sebastianum --- aduersa formidare  
 328.33 Omnipotens s. ds qui infirma --- patrocinia sentiamus  
 329.33 Praesta qs dne mentibus nostris --- constantiam subsequamur

330.34 Adesto qs dne supplicationibus nostris --- liberemur (479)  
331.35 Deus qui nos annua beatae agnetis --- sequamur exemplo  
332.36 Deus qui inter cetera potentiae tuae --- exemplo gradiamur  
333.37 Praesta qs o. ds ut qui beati ualentini --- liberemur (341)(350)  
334.38 Deus qui animae famuli tui gregorii --- praecibus subleuemur  
335.39 Deus qui beatae uirginis utero --- intercessionibus adiuuemur  
336.40 Praesta qs o. ds ut qui sanctorum tuorum --- imitemur  
337.41 Deus qui nos beati georgii --- gratiae consequamur  
338.42 Sit dne beatus marcus --- copiosius audiatur (309)  
339.43 Praesta qs o. ds ut intercedente --- mundemur in mente (560)  
340.44 Deus qui nos annua apostolorum --- instruamur exemplis (351)  
341.45 Praesta qs o. ds ut qui sanctorum tuorum --- liberemur (333)(350)  
342.46 Deus qui conspicias quia nos ... perturbant --- protegat  
343.47 Da qs o. ds ut qui beatorum martyrum --- adiuuemur (346)  
344.48 Semper nos dne martyrum tuorum nereii --- reddat obsequio  
345.49 Concede qs o. ds ad eorum --- solemnitate gaudere  
346.50 Da qs o. ds ut qui beati urbani --- adiuuemur (343)  
347.51 Deus qui nos annua beatorum marcellini --- prouocemur exemplis  
348.52 Fac nos dne qs sanctorum tuorum primi --- dona sentiamus  
349.53 Sanctorum basilidis --- deuotionis accrescat  
350.54 Praesta qs o. ut qui sanctorum marci --- liberemur (333)(341)  
351.55 Deus qui nos annua sanctorum tuorum --- accendamus exemplis (340)  
352.56 +In diebus illis factum est uerbum domini ad me (Ier 1.4)  
353.56 +Et dixit dns ad me noli dicere (Ier 1.7)  
354.56 +Misit dns manum suam (Ier 1.9-10)  
355.56 +Haec dicit dns ds audite insulae (Is 49.1)  
356.56 +Haec dicit dns formans me ex utero (Is 49.5,6)  
357.56 +Reges uidebunt et consurgent principes (Is 49.7)  
358.57 Praesta qs o. ds ut familia tua --- segura perueniat  
359.57 Concede qs o. ds ut qui beati --- intercessione muniamur  
360.57 Deus qui nos beati iohannis baptistae --- meritis adiuuari (480)  
361.57 Deus qui conspicias quia nos ... contristant --- laetifica  
362.57 Omnipotens s. ds da cordibus nostris --- clamantis edocuit  
363.57 Omnipotens et misericors ds qui --- peruenire mereamur  
364.58 Quaesumus o. ds ut nos geminata --- esse germanos  
365.59 Deus qui beatum leonem --- imitemur exempla  
366.60 +Claudus quidam cum uidisset petrum (Act 3.2,3,6)  
367.60 +Exiliens claudus stetit et ambulabat (Act 3.8)  
368.60 +In diebus illis dans petrus manum thabithae (Act 9.41-42)  
369.60 +Petrus quidem seruabatur in carcere (Act 12.5)  
370.60 +Angelus domini adstitit (Act 12.7)  
371.60 +Dixit angelus ad petrum (Act 12.8-9)  
372.60 +Petrus ad se reuersus dixit (Act 12.11)  
373.61 Deus qui nobis apostolorum beatorum --- orationibus adiuuari  
374.61 Deus qui ecclesiam tuam apostoli tui petri --- ditentur  
375.61 Praesta qs o. ds ut nullis nos --- petra solidasti  
376.61 Deus qui apostolo tuo petro --- nexibus liberemur  
377.61 Omnipotens s. ds qui ecclesiam --- consortia perfidorum  
378.61 Familiam tuam dne propitius intueri --- constituyente principibus  
379.61 Domine ds o. beatorum apostolorum --- gaudet et meritis  
380.62 +Fratres notum uobis facio euangelium (I Cor 15.1)  
381.62 +Ego enim sum minimus (I Cor 15.9-10)  
381.62a +Nemo militans deo (II Tim 2.4-5)  
382.62 +Bonum certamen certavi (II Tim 4.7-8)  
383.62 +Deus mihi adstitit (II Tim 4.17,18)  
384.63 Deus qui multitudinem gentium beati --- patrocinia sentiamus



385.63 Concede qs dne apostolos tuos --- constituyente principibus  
 386.63 Apostolicis nos dne qs beatorum petri --- auxiliis foueamur  
 387.64 +Hi sunt uiri misericordiae (Sir 44.10-13)  
 388.64 +Corpora sanctorum in pace (Sir 44.14-15)  
 389.65 Deus cuius dextera beatum petrum --- gloriam consequamur  
 390.65 Protege dne populum tuum --- defentione conserua  
 391.65 Omnipotens s. ds qui nos beatorum --- tuitionis augmentum  
 392.66 Deus qui nos sanctorum tuorum --- intercessione gaudere (562)  
 393.67 Sancti sacerdotis tui martini --- fideliter immittemur  
 394.68 Praesta qs o. ds ut qui gloriosos martyres --- sentiamus (467)  
 395.69 Intercessio nos dne qs beati benedicti --- patrocinio assequamur  
 396.70 Esto dne plebi tuae ... apostoli tui --- secunda deseruiat (518)  
 397.71 Praesta dne qs ut sicut populus --- comprehendat effectum  
 398.72 Deus qui sanctis tuis abdo et senni --- aduersitatibus liberari  
 399.73 Fraterna nos dne martyrum tuorum corona --- suffragio consoletur  
 400.75 Deus mundi creator et rector --- incendiis liberemur  
 401.75 Da nobis qs o. ds uitiorum --- incendia superare  
 402.75 Deus cuius caritatis ardore beatus laurentius --- auxilio muniamur  
 403.75 Da qs o. ds ut triumphum beati laurentii --- fidei ueneremur  
 404.76 Beati tiburtii nos dne --- concesseris adiuuari  
 405.77 Da nobis o. ds ut beati yppolyti --- augeat et salutem (501)  
 406.78 Deus qui nos beati eusebii --- exempla gradiamur  
 407.79 +In omnibus requiem quaesiui (Sir 24.11,12,13,15)  
 408.79 +Eradicaui in populo (Sir 24.16)  
 409.79 +Quasi cedrus exalta sum (Sir 24.17-19)  
 410.79 +Sicut cynamonum et balsamum (Sir 24.20)  
 411.80 Deus qui uirginalem aulam beatae mariae --- interesse festiuitati  
 412.80 Magna est dne apud clementiam --- fiducialiter intercedat  
 413.80 Concede misericors ds fragilitati --- iniquitatibus resurgamus  
 414.80 Ueneranda nobis dne huius est --- genuit incarnatum  
 415.80 Famulorum tuorum dne delictis --- intercessione saluemur  
 416.80 Subueniat dne plebi tuae --- orare sentiamus  
 417.80 Praesta qs o. ds ut beatae mariae --- concedat aeterna  
 418.81 Iterata festiuitate beati laurentii --- nouimus sempiterna  
 419.82 Laetetur ecclesia tua ds beati agapiti --- secunda consistat (449)  
 420.83 Auxilium tuum nobis dne qs --- propitiationis extende  
 421.84 Omnipotens s. ds qui huius ... bartholomei --- docuit (311)  
 422.85 Sancti iohannis baptiste --- praestet effectum  
 423.86 Maiestatem tuam dne supplices --- supplicatione defendas  
 424.87 +O quam pulchra est casta generatio (Sap 4.1)  
 425.87 +Ab initio ante saeculum (Sir 24.14-15)  
 426.87 +Ego ex ore altissimi (Sir 24.5,21-22)  
 427.87 +Una est columba mea (Ct 6.8)  
 428.87 +Quae est ista quae progreditur (Ct 6.9)  
 429.88 Supplicationem seruorum tuorum --- periculis eruamur  
 430.88 Famulis tuis dne caelestis gratiae --- tribuat incrementum  
 431.88 Adiuuet nos qs dne sanctae mariae --- natiuitas celebramus (R151)  
 432.88 Concede nos famulos tuos qs dne --- perfrui laetitia  
 433.88 Omnipotens s. ds famulos tuos dextera --- futura  
 434.88 Beatae mariae semper uirginis --- experiatur auxilio  
 435.88 Protege dne famulos tuos subsidiis pacis --- redde securos  
 436.88 Beatae et gloriosae semper uirginis --- gloriosa protegat  
 437.89 +Factum est proelium in caelo (Apc 12.7-8)  
 438.89 +Angelus uenit et stetit (Apc 8.3)  
 439.89 +In diebus illis dixit mihi angelus (Apc 19.9)  
 440.89 +Cecidi ante pedes angeli (Apc 19.10)

441.89 +Ecce tabernaculum dei (Apc 21.3)  
 442.90 Deus qui miro ordine angelorum --- uita muniamur  
 443.90 Beati archangeli tui michaelis --- contingamus et mente  
 444.90 Da nobis o. ds beati archangeli michaelis --- adiuuemur in caelis  
 445.90 Multiplica dne ueritatem tuam --- angelis gloriamur)  
 446.90 Perpetuum nobis dne tuae miserationis --- suffragia non deesse  
 447.90 Adesto plebi tuae misericors ds --- deprecationibus subleuari  
 448.91 Exaudi dne qs praeces nostras --- placatus intende  
 449.92 Laetetur ecclesia tua ds martyrum --- secunda consistat (419)  
 450.93 Deus qui nos conspicias ex nostra infirmitate --- restaura  
 451.94 Interveniatur pro nobis dne --- honore portavit  
 452.95 Concede qs o. ds ut sicut apostolorum tuorum --- praeueniant(512)  
 453.96 Beati quintini martyris --- semper implorent  
 454.97 Domine ds noster multiplica --- professione laetitiam  
 455.98 Exaudi dne famulos tuos --- reperire laetitiam  
 456.98 Omnipotens s. ds qui nos omnium ... merita --- largiaris  
 457.98 Da qs dne fidelibus populis omnium --- supplicatione muniri  
 458.98 Omnipotens s. ds qui nos omnium ... multiplici --- aspectu  
 459.99 Adesto ds populo tuo placatus --- perueniat sempiternam  
 460.99 Maiestati tuae dne nos --- ueneratione adiuuemur  
 461.99 Praesta qs o. ds ut continua --- consoletur  
 462.100 Deus qui nos beatae mariae --- sequamur exemplo  
 463.100 Fac nos dne ds sanctae mariae --- protegatur auxilio  
 464.100 Adesto dne supplicationibus nostris --- impende  
 465.100 Da nobis dne continua omnium --- protegatur subsidiis  
 466.100 Deus qui nos concedis sanctorum --- societate gaudere  
 467.101 Praesta qs o. ds ut qui gloriosos martyres --- sentiamus (394)  
 468.102 Deus qui nos beati theodori --- oratione fulciri  
 469.103 Concede nobis qs o. ds uenturam beati --- deuotione (500)  
 470.103 Omnipotens et misericors ds qui beatum martinum --- deseruiant  
 471.103 Caelesti benedictione o. pater --- gloria gaudere  
 472.103 Deus qui populo tuo --- in caelis  
 473.103 Exaudi dne populum tuum tota ... et beati martini --- obtineat  
 474.103 Omnipotens s. ds solemnitatem --- uota perficias  
 475.103 Praesta qs o. ut sicut diuina --- praecibus adsequamur  
 476.104 Sanctae ceciliae martyris tuae --- et meritis  
 477.104 Deus cui beata cecilia --- percipere mereamur  
 478.105 Deus qui nos annua beati clementis --- passionis imitemur  
 479.106 Adesto supplicationibus nostris ut qui --- liberemur (330)  
 480.107 Deus qui nos beati saturnini --- meritis adiuuari (360)  
 481.108 +Benedictio domini super caput (Sir 44.25,26,27)  
 482.108 +Magnificauit eum in timore (Sir 45.2,3)  
 483.108 +In fide et laenitate (Sir 45.4,6,7)  
 484.108 +Statuit ei testamentum (Sir 45.8,9)  
 485.108 +Fratres corde enim creditur (Rm 10.10-11)  
 486.109 Tuere nos misericors ds et beati andreae --- gubernare presidiis  
 487.109 Quaesumus o. ds ut beatus andreas --- periculis exuamur  
 488.109 Beati andreae apostoli --- sociata laetari  
 489.109 Adiuuet ecclesiam tuam --- extitit predicator  
 490.109 Da nobis qs dne ds noster beati --- salutis impendas  
 491.109 Exaudi dne populum tuum cum sancti --- deuotione seruire  
 492.109 Deus qui es sanctorum tuorum splendor --- et meritis  
 493.110 Intercessio nos qs dne sanctae luciae --- conspiciamus aeterna  
 494.111 Da nobis qs dne beati apostoli tui --- deuotione sectemur (505)  
 495.113 +Iustum deduxit dns (Sap 10.10)  
 496.113 +Custodiuit eum ab inimicis (Sap 10.12)

- 497.113 +Beatus homo qui inuenit (Prv 3.13-14)  
498.113 +Longitudo dierum in dextera (Prv 3.16-17)  
499.113 +Dominus sapientia fundauit (Prv 3.19-20)  
500.114 Concede nobis qs o. ds uenturam beati --- deuotione (469)  
501.114 Da nobis o. ds ut beati apostoli --- augeat et salutem (405)  
502.114 Benedictionis tuae gratiam dne --- auxilium sentiamus  
503.114 Beati apostoli tui illius qs dne supplicatione --- concede (307)  
504.114 Beati apostoli tui illius dne praecibus --- donetur (308)  
505.114 Da nobis qs dne beati apostoli --- deuotione sectemur (494)  
506.114 Praesta qs o. ds ut qui iugiter --- oprimamur aduersis  
507.115 +Fratres iam non estis hospites (Eph 2.19-20)  
508.115 +Christo summo angulari lapide (Eph 2.20-22)  
509.115 +Fratres unicuique nostrum (Eph 4.7-8)  
510.115 +Fratres ds dedit quosdam (Eph 4.11-12)  
511.115 +Fratres occurramus omnes in unitate (Eph 4.13)  
512.116 Concede qs o. ds ut sicut apostolorum --- praeueniant (452)  
513.116 Solemnitatis apostolicae multiplicatione --- patrociniis confoueri  
514.116 Deus qui nos per beatos apostolos --- celebrando proficere  
515.116 Exaudi dne praeces nostras et sanctorum --- foueamur auxiliis  
516.116 Da qs dne fidelibus populis --- supplicatione muniri (457)  
517.116 Exaudi nos ds salutaris noster --- esse doctrinis (661)  
518.116 Esto dne plebi tuae ... apostolicis --- secunda deseruiat (396)  
519.117 +Beatus uir qui in sapientia (Sir 14.22 [304])  
520.117 +Cibabit illum pane uitae (Sir 15.3-4,6)  
521.117 +Iustus cor suum tradidit (Sir 39.6-7)  
522.117 +Si dns uoluerit (Sir 39.8-9)  
523.117 +Conlaudabunt multi sapientiam (Sir 39.12-13)  
524.117 +Beatus uir qui suffert (Iac 1.12)  
525.118 Concede qs o. ds ut nostra deuotio --- eius accumulet  
526.118 Sancti martyris tui illius --- nobis augmentum  
527.118 Uotiuos nos dne qs beati martyris --- reddat acceptos  
528.118 Deus qui sanctam nobis --- intercessionibus adiuuemur  
529.118 Sancti illius martyris --- uenerandus refulget  
530.119 +Iustorum animae in manu dei (Sap 3.1-3)  
531.119 +Si coram hominibus tormenta (Sap 3.4-5)  
532.119 +Tamquam aurum in fornace (Sap 3.6)  
533.119 +Fulgebunt iusti (Sap 3.7-8)  
534.120 Praesta qs o. ds ut sicut beatorum martyrum --- praeueniant  
535.120 Magnifica dne beatorum martyrum --- suscipimus et praemus  
536.120 Concede qs o. ds ut sanctorum martyrum --- et praemiis  
537.120 Sanctorum martyrum --- oratione donetur  
538.120 Omnipotens s. ds qui nos idoneos --- possis audire  
539.120 Ad defentionem fidelium --- continuata sanctorum  
540.121 +Ecce sacerdos magnus (Sir 50.1; 44.16,17,20)  
541.121 +Benedictionem omnium gentium (Sir 44.25,26,27)  
542.121 +Magnificauit eum in conspectu regum (Sir 45.2,3,8)  
543.121 +Beatificauit illum (Sir 45.8,19,20)  
544.121 +Fratres omnis pontifex ex hominibus (Hbr 5.1)  
545.122 Adesto dne praecibus nostris --- praecibus adiuuemur  
546.122 Sancti confessoris tui illius nos --- intercessionibus adiuuemur  
547.122 Sancti dne confessoris tui illius --- meritis commendemur  
548.122 Adiuua nos dne deprecatione sanctorum --- sentiamus auxilium  
549.122 Deus fidelium remunerator --- indulgentiam consequamur  
550.122 Misericordiam tuam dne --- propitiare suffragiis  
551.122 Omnipotens s. ds cui cuncta --- implere possimus  
552.123 Propitiare qs dne nobis famulis --- protegamur aduersis



553.123 Da aeternae consolationis pater --- perficiant uoluntate  
 554.124 +Fratres plures facti sunt sacerdotes (Hbr 7.23-24)  
 555.124 +Fratres talis decebat (Hbr 7.26-27)  
 556.124 +Fratres habemus pontificem magnum (Hbr 4.14)  
 557.124 +Fratres non habemus pontificem (Hbr 4.15)  
 558.125 Sanctorum confessorum nos --- intercessio tueatur  
 559.125 Tuere dne qs populum tuum continua --- supplicatione protectum  
 560.125 Praesta qs o. ds ut intercedentibus --- mundemur in mente (339)  
 561.125 Prosint nobis --- praecibus adsequamur  
 562.125 Deus qui nos sanctorum tuorum illorum --- intercessione gaudere (392)  
 563.125 Benedictionis tuae gratiam dne plebs --- sollemnitate pontificum  
 564.126 +Iusti in perpetuum uiuent (Sap 5.16)  
 565.126 +Accipient sancti regnum decoris (Sap 5.17)  
 566.126 +Induent sancti pro torace iustitiam (Sap 5.19-20,22)  
 567.126 +Reddidit ds mercedem laborum (Sap 10.17)  
 568.126 +Qui autem scrutatur corda (Rm 8.27)  
 569.126 +Fratres scimus quoniam (Rm 8.28)  
 570.127 Omnipotens s. ds qui in sanctorum --- proficiamus exemplis  
 571.127 Praesta dne qs ut sicut sanctorum --- suffragiis comitentur  
 572.127 Adesto dne populo tuo sanctorum --- meritis consequatur  
 573.127 Magnificantes dne clementiam --- gaudere consortiis  
 574.127 Da nobis o. ds in sanctorum --- perseuerare concedis  
 575.128 Deus qui unigeniti tui --- nexibus liberentur  
 576.128 Deus qui unigeniti filii --- protectione gaudere  
 577.128 Adesto dne ds noster ut quos --- defende praesidiis (R150)  
 578.128 Deus qui unicum filium --- perpetua liberemur  
 579.128 Deus qui salutem humani generis --- muniamur aduersis  
 580.128 Deus qui per crucem et sanguinem --- unitate laetari  
 581 =Deus cuius filius pro salute --- ualeant apparare  
 582 =Deus qui hierusolimam ueniens --- semper inardescamus  
 583 =Omnipotens s. ds respice propitius --- esse praeceptorum (586)  
 584 =Praesta qs o. ds ut huic famulo --- gratiae concedat  
 584a \*Tu es dne qui restitues mihi  
 584b \*Dominus pars et gloria  
 584c \*Hic accipiet benedictionem  
 584d \*Haec est generatio  
 585 =Praesta qs o. ds ut famulum --- sempiternum custodias  
 586 =Omnipotens s. ds respice propitius --- esse praeceptorum (583)  
 587 =Deus cuius spiritu creatura --- gaudeat et aeternae  
 588 =Omnipotens s. ds insecrete officiis --- tranquillitatis utenda  
 589 =Deus qui aduentu filii --- largitate emunda  
 590 =Protector fidelium ds subditorum --- impugnatione fantasmatica  
 591 =Deus qui hanc arbore --- esse ualeant  
 592 =Benedic dne hunc fructum nouum --- sint sanctificati  
 593 =Benedic dne creaturam istam panis --- animae sanitatem (R130)  
 594 =Creator et conseruator humani ... largitor --- aeternam salutem  
 595 =Benedic dne creaturam istam ut sit --- tutelam percipiat  
 596 =Adesto dne supplicationibus nostris --- habitaculum (653) (R148)  
 597 =Benedic dne ds o. locum --- in eo permaneat  
 598 =Deus qui tribus pueris --- flamma uitiorum  
 599 =Exorcizo te creatura aque --- timeat et contremescat  
 600 =Domine iesu christe qui es iudex --- comprobet ac manifestet  
 601 =Te dne ds supplices --- calumniam incurrat  
 602 =Deus iudex iustus --- euacuare dignetur  
 603 =Omnipotens s. ds confitenti --- pietatis ad ueniam  
 604 =Deus qui uestimentum --- protegente custodiat

605 =Deus bonorum uirtutum dator --- sanctificare digneris  
 606 =Respice dne super hanc famulam --- assumpsit  
 607 =Te inuocamus dne --- usque in finem  
 608 =Respice dne propitius super hanc famulam --- gubernante custodiat  
 609 =Deus castorum corporum --- mereatur uniri  
 610 =Da qs dne famulae --- mereatur ad finem  
 611 =Oblatis hostis dne --- mereamur intrare  
 612 =Hanc igitur oblationem famulae --- diesque nostris  
 613 =Respice dne famulae --- protectione confidit  
 614 =Exaudi nos o. et misericors ds --- propitius impleatur  
 615 +Fratres nescitis quod corpora uestra (I Cor 6.15-20)  
 616 +In illo tempore loquebatur iesus (Mt 22.1-14)  
 617 =Suscipe qs dne pro sacro --- esto dispositor  
 618 =Vere dignum equum et salutare qui foedera --- perducatur augmentum  
 619 =Hanc igitur oblationem famulorum --- qs dne  
 620 =Propitiare dne supplicationibus --- auxiliante seruetur  
 621 =Deus qui potestate uirtutis --- perueniat senectutem  
 622 =Deus o. ds instituta --- pace custodias  
 623 =Benedicat uos dns --- in saecula saeculorum  
 624 =Respice dne de caelo --- eos perfunde  
 625 =Benedic dne thalamum --- in longitudine dierum  
 626 =Benedicat uos pater et filius --- in nomine  
 627 =Benedic dne istos adhulescentulos --- in longitudine dierum  
 628 =Creator et conseruator humani ... aeternae ds --- hunc anulum  
 629 =Benedic dne lectum istum  
 630 \*Auctor salutis unicus (R131)  
 631 =Deus qui per ignem signa --- inlaesi permaneant  
 632 =Adiuuro te creaturae ferri --- benedictus in saecula saeculorum  
 633 =Ic eow halsige on faeder naman  
 634 =Benedic dne iesu christe --- tutelam praestet  
 635 =Benedicere et sanctificare --- oculi eorum  
 636 =Deus pater o. --- benedictus in saecula saeculorum  
 637 =Domine sancte pater o. aeterne ds qui fecisti --- crediderunt  
 638 =Benedictio tuo dne --- absolvere mereamur  
 639 =Concede qs o. ds per aspersionem  
 640 =Deus o. et ds abraham --- non possit  
 641 =Exorcizo te creatura salis in nomine --- per ignem  
 642 =Domine iesu christe te supplices --- in omni loco  
 643 =Benedic dne hanc creaturam aquae --- ex ea utuntur  
 644 =Te ergo inuoco --- descendat exercitus  
 645 =Habraham habraham --- in nomine dei summi  
 646 =Omnipotens s. qui regenerare --- in uitam aeternam  
 646a =Pax tibi --- uitae tuae  
 647 =Exorcizo te creatura salis per deum --- per ignem  
 648 =Immensam clementiam --- spiritalis nequitiae  
 649 =Exorcizo te aquae in nomine --- suis apostaticis  
 650 =Deus qui ad salutem --- impugnationibus defensa  
 651 =Deus inuictae uirtutis --- adesse dignetur  
 652 =Exaudi nos dne sancte pater o. aeterne ds --- habitaculo  
 653 =Adesto nobis dne supplicationibus --- habitaculum (596)  
 654 =Exaudi nos dne sancte pater o. aeterne ds --- pellentur  
 655 =In hac prima diei hora --- delectemur  
 656 =Domine iesu christe qui hora tertia --- habeamus custodiam  
 657 =Domine iesu christe qui dum hora sexta --- peruenire mereamur  
 658 =Domine iesu christe qui hora nona --- gaudentes concedas  
 659 =Gratias tibi agimus --- habeas laudatores

660 =Domine iesu christe qui nos redemisti --- corde uigilemus  
661 =Exaudi nos ds salutaris noster --- esse doctrinis (517)  
662 =Omnipotens s. ds qui nos omnium apostolorum --- largiatur  
663 =Omnipotens s. ds placabilis --- prosit indigno  
664 =Omnipotens s. respice --- debitor sum  
665 =Et nunc sequimur --- misericordiae tuae

Special Signs:

+ capitulum

= benediction

\* choral incipit

# Appendix I.iii

## Capitula in the DC: listed by their Biblical references

<u>DC Cap.</u>	<u>Biblical ref.</u>
5.1	-----
4.1	-----
497.113	Prv 3.13-14
498.113	3.16-17
499.113	3.19-20
19.3	Ct 1.1; 4.10
20.3	1.9,10
22.3	1.11,12
21.3	1.14
427.87	6.8
428.87	6.9
530.119	Sap 3.1-3
531.119	3.4-5
532.119	3.6
533.119	3.7-8
424.87	4.1
564.126	5.16
565.126	5.17
566.126	5.19-20,22
495.113	10.10
496.113	10.12
567.126	10.17
70.10	Sir 14.11,12
519.117	14.22 [304]
304.23	14.22 [519]
300.23	15.1,2
305.23	15.3
520.117	15.3-4,6
301.23	15.5
302.23	15.6
71.10	17.21,22
72.10	21.1
426.87	24.5,21-22
407.79	24.11,12,13,15
425.87	24.14-15
408.79	24.16
409.79	24.17-19
410.79	24.20
16.3	24.23
17.3	24.24-25
18.3	24.26-28
68.10	36.1
521.117	39.6-7
522.117	39.8-9
523.117	39.12-13
387.64	44.10-13
388.64	44.14-15



541.121	Sir	44.25,26,27 [481]
481.108		44.25,26,27 [541]
482.108		45.2,3
542.121		45.2,3,8
483.108		45.4,6,7
484.108		45.8,9
543.121		45.8,19,20
540.121		50.1; 44.16,17,20
73.10		51.38
126.12	Is	13.2
3.1		25.1 [Cf.]
6.1		41.18 [Cf.]
2.1		42.1
127.12		43.25
355.56		49.1
356.56		49.5,6
357.56		49.7
128.12		49.8
140.12		49.8-9
129.12		50.5-6
130.12		50.7
131.12		50.10
7.1		52.13
132.12		53.1
133.12		53.6,7
66.10		55.6
67.10		55.7
28.5		58.1,2
29.5		58.10
30.5		59.1
1.1		62.7
352.56	Ier	1.4
353.56		1.7
354.56		1.9-10
236.17		5.1
237.17		6.16
238.17		7.3,7
134.12		17.14
135.12	Lam	3.24,25
136.12		3.26,31,32
137.12		3.40,41
138.12		3.56,57
139.12		3.58
62.10	Ez	18.5,8
63.10		18.9
64.10		18.20
65.10		18.27
59.10		34.11,12
60.10		34.12
61.10		34.15
69.10	Dn	9.15,16
26.5	Ioel	2.12,13
27.5		2.13
616	Mt	22.1-14
366.60	Act	3.2,3,6
367.60		3.8

290.21	Act 6.8
291.21	6.9,10
292.21	7.55,56
293.21	7.59
294.21	8.2,4
368.60	9.41-42
369.60	12.5
370.60	12.7
371.60	12.8-9
372.60	12.11
147.13	Rm 5.8,10
173.15	6.3,4
174.15	6.6,7
175.15	6.8,9
568.126	8.27
569.126	8.28
148.13	8.31-32
485.108	10.10-11
37.7	13.8
38.7	13.9
39.7	13.10
176.15	14.7,8
177.15	14.9
167.15	I Cor 5.7
168.15	5.8
615	6.15-20
178.15	6.20
31.6	9.24
32.6	9.25
33.6	9.26
35.7	13.11
36.7	13.13
380.62	15.1
381.62	15.9-10
179.15	15.20-22
85.10	II Cor 4.11
86.10	5.10
74.10	6.1,2
75.10	6.2-4
87.10	9.8
34.7	12.9
88.10	13.11
180.15	Gal 1.3,4
149.13	6.14
303.23	Eph 1.3
181.15	2.5-6
507.115	2.19-20
508.115	2.20-22
510.115	4.11-12
509.115	4.7-8
511.115	4.13
81.10	4.29
82.10	4.30
83.10	4.31
84.10	4.32
79.10	5.1,2

80.10	Eph 5.8,9
142.13	Phil 2.5-7
143.13	2.8
89.10	Col 2.16-18
165.15	3.1,2
166.15	3.3,4
90.10	3.12,13
91.10	3.15,16
92.10	3.17
187.15	I Th 5.5,6
188.15	5.8
189.15	5.9,10
190.15	5.11
76.10	5.14
77.10	5.15
78.10	5.16-18
381.62a	II Tim 2.4-5
382.62	4.7-8
383.62	4.17,18
556.124	Hbr 4.14
557.124	4.15
544.121	5.1
554.124	7.23-24
555.124	7.26-27
141.13	9.11-12
182.15	12.1,2
183.15	13.20,21
524.117	Iac 1.12
185.15	1.17,18
186.15	1.19,20
191.15	1.22
192.15	1.25
193.15	1.27
163.15	I Pt 1.3-4
164.15	1.18,19
169.15	2.1,2
170.15	2.9,10
172.15	2.21,22
144.13	3.18 [171]
171.15	3.18 [144]
145.13	4.1
146.13	5.10-11
184.15	I Io 5.4,5
194.15	Apc 5.9
316.25	7.14,15; 14.13
438.89	8.3
437.89	12.7-8
312.25	14.1
313.25	14.2
314.25	14.3
315.25	14.4
439.89	19.9
440.89	19.10
441.89	21.3

# Appendix I.iv

Incipits --- explicits of the DC collects and benedictions:  
listed in alphabetical order

278.19	Ab omnibus nos qs dne peccatis --- mentibus seruiamus
106.11	Actiones nostras qs dne --- finiatur
539.120	Ad defentionem fidelium --- continuata sanctorum
459.99	Adesto ds populo tuo placatus --- perueniat sempiternam
577.128	dne ds noster ut quos --- defende praesidiis (822)
255.18	fidelibus tuis --- consolationis auxilium
256.18	populis tuis --- defentione conserua
572.127	populo tuo sanctorum --- meritis consequatur
545.122	precibus nostris --- precibus adiuuemur
=596	supplicationibus nostris et hanc --- habitaculum (653)(805)
464.100	intercessione --- impende
58.9	ut hoc --- celebremus
=653	nobis dne supplicationibus --- semper habitaculum (596)(805)
447.90	plebi tuae misericors ds --- deprecationibus subleuari
95.11	qs dne supplicationibus nostris et in tua --- custodi
105.11	ut esse --- securi
330.34	qui --- liberemur (479)
479.106	supplicationibus nostris ut qui --- liberemur (330)
=632	Adiuuro te creaturae ferri --- benedictus in saecula saeculorum
56.9	Adiuua nos ds noster ut inchoata --- deuotis mentibus assequamur
153.14	salutaris noster --- gaudentes
548.122	dne deprecatione sanctorum --- sentiamus auxilium
320.26	qs eorum deprecatione --- gratia coronati
489.109	Adiuuet ecclesiam tuam --- extitit predicator
431.88	nos qs dne sanctae mariae --- natiuitas celebramus
277.19	Afflictionem familiae tuae qs dne --- semper gloriemur
386.63	Apostolicis nos dne qs beatorum petri --- auxiliis foueamur
280.19	Auerte qs dne iram tuam --- prouocamus expelle
45.8	Aufer a nobis dne qs iniquitates --- sensibus introire
251.18	Auge in nobis dne qs fidem --- accende
281.19	Aures tuae pietatis qs dne --- gratia liberemur
257.18	Auxiliare dne populo tuo --- ducente consortium
279.19	quaerentibus misericordiam --- saluemur
420.83	Auxilium tuum nobis dne qs placatus --- propitiationis extende
436.88	Beatae et gloriosae semper uirginis --- gloriosa protegat
434.88	mariae semper uirginis --- experiatur auxilio
488.109	Beati andreae apostoli --- sociata laetari
504.114	apostoli tui illius dne precibus donetur (308)
503.114	qs dne supplicatione --- concede (307)
443.90	archangeli tui michaelis --- contingamus et mente
308.24	euuangeliste iohannis qs dne --- intercessione donetur (504)
307.24	iohannis euangelistae qs dne --- sempiterna concede (503)
453.96	quintini martyris --- semper implorent
404.76	tiburtii nos dne --- concesseris adiuuari
=593	Benedic dne creaturam istam panis noui --- animae sanitatem (713)
=595	ut sit --- tutelam percipiat
=597	ds o. locum --- in eo permaneat
=643	hanc creaturam aquae --- ex ea utuntur
=592	hunc fructum nouum --- sint sanctificati
=634	iesu christe --- tutelam praestet

=627 Benedic dne istos adulescentulos --- in longitudine dierum  
 =629 | | lectum istum  
 =625 | | thalamum --- in longitudine dierum  
 =623 Benedicat uos dominus --- in saecula saeculorum  
 =626 | | pater et filius --- in nomine  
 =635 Benedicere et sanctificare --- oculi eorum  
 =638 Benedictio tuo dne --- absolvere mereamur  
 502.114 Benedictionis tuae gratiam dne intercedente --- auxilium sentiamus  
 563.125 | | | | plebs --- sollemnitate pontificum  
 471.103 Caelesti benedictione o. pater --- gloria gaudere  
 234.16 | | lumine qs dne --- percipiamus effectum  
 413.80 Concede misericors ds fragilitati --- iniquitatibus resurgamus  
 49.9 | | nobis dne praesidia militiae --- muniamur auxiliis  
 500.114 | | qs o. ds uenturam beati apostoli --- deuotione (469)(933)  
 469.103 | | | | confessoris --- deuotione (500) (933)  
 432.88 | | nos famulos tuos qs dne --- perfrui laetitia  
 12.2 | | o. ds ut salutare tuum --- cordibus oriatur  
 385.63 | | qs dne apostolos tuos --- constituente principibus  
 204.16 | | | semper nos --- causa laetitiae  
 225.16 | | misericors ds --- sentiamus  
 345.49 | | o. ds ad eorum --- sollemnitate gaudere  
 44.8 | | | fragilitati --- cum exaltatione suscipiat  
 =639 | | | per aspersionem  
 323.28 | | | ut ad meliorem uitam --- actus imitemur  
 525.118 | | | nostra deuotio --- eius accumulet  
 201.16 | | | per haec paschalia --- uiuamus  
 359.57 | | | qui beati iohannis --- intercessione muniamur  
 118.11 | | | protectionis --- seruiamus  
 197.16 | | | resurrectionis --- resurgamus  
 536.120 | | | sanctorum martyrum --- et praemiis  
 512.116 | | | sicut apostolorum tuorum gloriosa --- praeueniant (452)  
 452.95 | | | | simonis --- praeueniant (512)  
 216.16 | | | ueterem --- transtulisti  
 227.16 Conserua in nobis qs dne --- facias documento  
 266.19 | | qs dne populum tuum --- mente deseruiat  
 96.11 Conuerte nos ds salutaris noster --- instrue disciplinis  
 115.11 Cordibus nostris qs dne benignus --- retrahamus excessibus  
 =594 Creator et conseruator humani ... largitor --- aeternam salutem  
 =628 | | | | aeternae ds --- hunc anulum  
 553.123 Da aeternae consolationis pater --- perficiant uoluntate  
 161.14 | | misericors ds ut quod --- sentiamus  
 465.100 | | nobis dne continua omnium --- protegatur subsidiis  
 259.18 | | | qs ut et mundi --- deuotione laetetur  
 444.90 | | o. ds beati archangeli michaelis --- adiuuemur in caelis  
 574.127 | | | in sanctorum --- perseuerare concedis  
 501.114 | | | ut beati apostoli --- augeat et salutem (405)  
 405.77 | | | | yppolyti --- augeat et salutem (501)  
 505.114 | | qs dne beati apostoli tui illius --- deuotione sectemur (494)  
 494.111 | | | | thomae --- deuotione sectemur (505)  
 490.109 | | | ds noster beati --- salutis impendas  
 13.2 | | | digne celebrare --- humanitas  
 295.22 | | | imitari --- persecutoribus exorare  
 94.11 | | o. ds aeternae promissionis --- citius inuenire  
 401.75 | | | uitiorum --- incendia superare  
 258.18 | | populo tuo qs dne spiritum --- sectetur  
 =610 | | qs dne famulae --- mereatur ad finem

516.116	Da qs dne fidelibus populis --- supplicatione muniri (457)
457.98	(516)
54.9	tuis ieiuniis --- proficiat animarum
113.11	nostris effectum ieiuniis --- transeat animarum
101.11	populis christianis --- frequentant
322.27	o. ds ut beati siluestri --- augeat et salutem
213.16	ecclesia --- laetetur
325.30	qui beatae priscae --- proficiamus exemplo (927)
346.50	beati urbani --- adiuuemur (343)
343.47	beatorum martyrum gordiani --- adiuuemur (346)
152.14	in tot --- liberemur
112.11	sacro --- facias peruenire
403.75	triumphum beati laurentii --- fidei ueneremur
260.18	Da salutem dne qs populo tuo --- beneficia consequantur
272.19	Deprecationem nostram qs o. ds benignus --- auxilium
99.11	Deuotionem populi tui qs dne benignus --- in mente
=605	Deus bonorum uirtutum dator --- sanctificare digneris
=609	castorum corporum --- mereatur uniri
477.104	cui beata cecilia --- percipere mereamur
267.19	proprium est misereri --- pietatis absoluat
402.75	cuius caritatis ardore beatus laurentius --- auxilio muniamur
389.65	dextera beatum petrum --- gloriam consequamur
=581	filius pro salute --- ualeant apparare
317.26	hodierna die praeconium --- uita fateatur
=587	spiritu creatura --- gaudeat et aeterne
10.2	unigenitus in substantia --- reformari mereamur
203.16	ecclesiae tuae redemptor --- praedicari
549.122	fidelium remunerator --- indulgentiam consequamur
219.16	humani generis conditor --- sectemur
9.2	inluminator omnium genitum --- infunde cordibus
=651	inuictae uirtutis --- adesse dignetur
=602	iudex iustus --- euacuare dignetur
400.75	mundi creator et rector --- incendiis liberemur
283.19	o. ds afflicti populi --- consolatione liberemur
150.14	familiam tuam --- in mente
=622	instituta --- pace custodias
=640	et ds abraham --- non possit
=636	pater o. --- benedictus in saecula saeculorum
230.16	qui ad aeternam uitam ... erige --- iudicaturus adueniat
218.16	imple --- immortalitate uestiri
=650	salutem --- impugnationibus defensa
=589	aduentu filii --- largitate emunda
334.38	animae famuli tui gregorii --- precibus subleuemur
376.61	apostolo tuo petro --- nexibus liberemur
335.39	beatae uirginis utero --- intercessionibus adiuuemur
365.59	beatum leonem --- imitemur exempla
327.32	sebastianum --- aduersa formidare
206.16	conspicis familiam tuam --- custodi
107.11	omni nos --- in mente
41.8	quia ex nulla --- protectione tua muniamur
361.57	nos ... contristant --- laetifica
342.46	perturbant --- nos protegat
52.9	culpa offenderis --- meremur auerte
240.18	diem discernis a nocte --- luce uiuamus
211.16	diuersitatem gentium --- actionum
93.11	ecclesiam tuam annua --- operibus exequamur



374.61	Deus qui ecclesiam tuam apostoli tui petri --- ditentur
200.16	nouo --- perceperunt
492.109	es sanctorum tuorum splendor --- et meritis
121.11	et iustis --- percipere delictorum
=591	hanc arbore --- esse ualeant
195.16	sacratissimam noctem --- seruitutem
=582	hierusolimam ueniens --- semper inardescamus
196.16	hodierna die per unigenitum tuum --- proseguere
8.2	unigenitum tuum --- ad contemplandam speciem
120.11	in deserti --- ne deficiamus inpende
123.11	ineffabilibus --- non destituatur auxiliis
332.36	inter cetera potentiae tuae --- exemplo gradiamur
269.19	iuste irasceris --- propitiatus auerte
318.26	licet sis magnus --- non loquentes
442.90	miro ordine angelorum --- uita muniamur
384.63	multitudinem gentium beati pauli --- patrocina sentiamus
212.16	nobis ad celebrandum --- quod praecipis
373.61	apostolorum beatorum petri --- orationibus adiuuari
340.44	nos annua apostolorum --- instruamur exemplis (351)
331.35	beatae agnetis --- sequamur exemplo
478.105	beati clementis --- passionis imitemur
347.51	beatorum marcellini --- prouocemur exemplis
351.55	sanctorum tuorum protasi --- accendamus exemplis (340)
462.100	beatae mariae --- sequamur exemplo
406.78	beati eusebii --- exempla gradiamur
337.41	georgii --- gratiae consequamur
360.57	iohannis baptistae --- meritis adiuuari (480)
480.107	saturnini --- meritis adiuuari (360)
468.102	theodori --- oratione fulciri
466.100	concedis sanctorum --- societate gaudere
450.93	conspicias ex nostra infirmitate --- exempla restaura
270.19	in tot --- meremur auerte
223.16	fecisti --- gaudere
46.8	in tantis periculis --- te adiuuante uincamus
514.116	per beatos apostolos --- celebrando proficere
209.16	paschalia festa --- teneamus
207.16	resurrectionis --- mereamur
562.125	sanctorum tuorum illorum --- intercessione gaudere (392)
392.66	processu --- intercessione gaudere (562)
297.22	unigeniti tui clementer --- mysterii portionem
271.19	peccantium animas --- consequi mereamur
580.128	per crucem et sanguinem --- unitate laetari
=631	ignem signa --- inlaesi permaneant
43.8	ineffabilem --- mentibus exsequamur
310.24	os beati apostoli tui iohannis --- eruditione capiamus
472.103	populo tuo --- in caelis
=621	potestate uirtutis --- perueniat senectutem
158.14	pro nobis filium --- gratiam consequamur
229.16	salute mundi --- aequalis absoluat
220.16	renatis per aquam --- promissis
579.128	salutem humani generis --- muniamur aduersis
528.118	sanctam nobis --- intercessionibus adiuuemur
398.72	sanctis tuis abdo et senni --- aduersitatibus liberari
205.16	solemnitate paschali --- proficiat sempiternam
125.11	sperantibus in te --- inuenire ualeamus
253.18	tenebras ignorantiae --- possit extinguui



=598	Deus qui tribus pueris --- flamma uitiorum
=604	uestimentum --- protegente custodiat
254.18	uigilantes in laudibus tuis --- gaudeamus
411.80	uirginalem aulam beatae mariae --- interesse festiuitati
578.128	unicum filium --- perpetua liberemur
576.128	unigeniti filii --- protectione gaudere
575.128	tui --- nexibus liberentur
268.19	refugium pauperum spes --- faciat consolatos
319.26	Discat ecclesia tua --- nosse presentem
454.97	Domine ds noster multiplica --- professione laetitiam
379.61	o. beatorum apostolorum --- gaudet et meritis
=657	iesu christe qui dum hora sexta --- peruenire mereamur
=600	es iudex --- comprobet ac manifestet
=658	hora nona --- gaudentes concedas
=656	tertia --- habeamus custodiam
=660	nos redemisti --- corde uigilemus
=642	te supplices --- in omni loco
=637	sancte pater o. aeterne ds qui fecisti crediderunt
306.24	Ecclesiam tuam dne benignus --- perueniat sempiterna
239.18	Emitte qs dne lucem tuam --- patiamur erroris
23.4	Erudi qs dne plebem tuam --- gratiae tuae luce
396.70	Esto dne plebi tuae ... apostoli tui iacobi --- secura deseruiat (518)
518.116	apostolicis --- secura deseruiat (396)
102.11	propitius plebi tuae --- miseratus auxilio
=665	Et nunc sequimur --- misericordiae tuae
455.98	Exaudi dne famulos tuos --- reperire laetitiam
264.19	gemitum populi tui --- fletibus supplicantium
491.109	populum tuum cum sancti --- deuotione seruire
473.103	tota ... et beati martini --- obtineat
265.19	ut corpore --- consequatur
515.116	preces nostras et sanctorum --- foueamur auxiliis
448.91	qs preces nostras --- placatus intende
=661	nos ds salutaris noster --- esse doctrinis (517)
517.116	(661)
=652	dne sancte pater o. aeterne ds et mittere --- habitaculo
=654	ut si --- tuae pellentur
250.18	misericors ds --- lumen ostende
=614	o. et misericors ds --- propitius impleatur
262.19	qs dne gemitum populi tui --- consequi mereamur
263.19	supplicum preces --- benignus et pacem
=649	Exorcizo te aquae in nomine --- suis apostaticis
=599	creatura aque --- timeat et contremescat
=641	salis in nomine --- per ignem
=647	per deum --- per ignem
242.18	Exsurgentes de cubilibus nostris --- in luce uirtutum
463.100	Fac nos dne ds sanctae mariae --- protegatur auxilio
348.52	qs sanctorum tuorum primi --- dona sentiamus
55.9	qs dne salutis nostrae --- principaliter inchoatas
222.16	o. ds ut qui paschalibus --- auctoris
378.61	Familiam tuam dne propitius intueri --- constituyente principibus
114.11	qs dne continua --- protectione muniatur
224.16	dextera --- prosequatur
430.88	Famulis tuis dne caelestis gratiae --- tribuat incrementum
415.80	Famulorum tuorum dne delictis --- intercessione saluemur
124.11	Fiat dne qs pro gratiam --- placita pietati
399.73	Fraterna nos dne martyrum tuorum corona suffragio consoletur

221.16	Gaudeat dne pleps fidelis --- augmentis
241.18	Gratias agamus dne sanctae pater --- gratias referamus
298.22	agimus dne multiplicatis --- deprecatione sustentas
252.18	inenarrabile pietati tuae --- et principem
=659	tibi agimus --- habeas laudatores
235.16	Gregem tuum pastor bone --- incursione lacerari
=645	Habraham habraham --- in nomine dei summi
=612	Hanc igitur oblationem famulae --- diesque nostris
=619	famulorum --- qs dne
=633	Ic eow halsige on faeder naman
119.11	Ieiunia nostra qs dne benigno --- in mente
=648	Immensam clementiam --- spiritalis nequitiae
=655	In hac prima diei hora --- delectemur
53.9	Inchoata ieiunia qs dne --- implere sinceris
326.31	Infirmittatem nostram respice o. ds --- nos protegat
244.18	Inlumina dne qs in te corda credentium --- protegatur
15.2	populum tuum --- ueraciter adprehendat
245.18	qs dne tenebras nostras --- repelle propitius
289.19	Intende qs dne preces nostras --- respiremus auditi
395.69	Intercessio nos dne qs beati benedicti --- patrocinio assequamur
493.110	qs dne sanctae luciae --- conspiciamus aeterna
451.94	Interueniat pro nobis dne --- honore portauit
321.26	Ipsi nobis dne qs postulent --- solemniter celebramus
418.81	Iterata festiuitate beati laurentii --- nouimus sempiterna
419.82	Laetetur ecclesia tua ds beati agapiti --- secura consistat (449)
449.92	Laetetur ecclesia tua ds martyrum --- secura consistat (419)
159.14	Largire sensibus nostris o. ds --- confidamus
412.80	Magna est dne apud clementiam --- fiducialiter intercedat
535.120	Magnifica dne beatorum martyrum --- suscipimus et praemus
573.127	Magnificantes dne clementiam --- gaudere consortiis
423.86	Maiestatem tuam dne supplices --- supplicatione defendas
460.99	Maieitati tuae dne nos --- ueneratione adiuuemur
286.19	Memor esto qs dne flagilitatis --- afflictis
100.11	Mentes nostras qs dne lumine --- agere ualeamus
550.122	Misericordiam tuam dne --- propitiare suffragiis
285.19	Moueatur pietatem tuam qs dne --- largitate percipiat
445.90	Multiplica dne ueritatem tuam --- angelis gloriamur
287.19	Ne dispicias o. ds populum tuum --- succurre placatus
155.14	Nostra tibi dne qs sint accepta --- perducant aeterna
=611	Oblatis hostis dne --- mereamur intrare
57.9	Obsecrationis huius annua --- effectibus gaudeamus
363.57	Omnipotens et misericors ds qui beatum iohannem --- peruenire mereamur
470.103	martinum --- deseruiant
=603	s. ds confitenti --- pietatis ad ueniam
551.122	cui cuncta --- implere possimus
362.57	da cordibus nostris --- clamantis edocuit
156.14	nobis --- percipere mereamur
214.16	deduc nos --- pastoris
433.88	famulos tuos dextera --- futura
11.2	fidelium splendor animarum --- claritatem
47.8	infirmitatem --- maiestatis extende
=588	insecrete officiis --- tranquillitatis utenda
24.4	maiestatem --- mentibus presentari
=663	placabilis --- prosit indigno
228.16	propensius --- cognouimus
377.61	qui ecclesiam tuam --- consortia perfidorum

311.24	Omnipotens s. ds qui huius ... iohannis --- docuit (421)
421.84	... bartholomei --- docuit (311)
231.16	humanam --- protectione conserua
151.14	humano --- consortia mereamur
570.127	in sanctorum --- proficiamus exemplis
328.33	infirmi mundi --- patrocinia sentiamus
391.65	nos beatorum --- tuitionis augmentum
538.120	idoneos --- possis audire
456.98	omnium ... merita --- largiaris
458.98	multiplici --- aspectu
=662	apostolorum --- largiatur
296.22	primitias --- persecutoribus exorauit
=586	respice propitius --- esse praeceptorum (583)
=583	(586)
474.103	solemnitatem --- uota perficias
=646	qui regenerare --- in uitam aeternam
=664	respice --- debitor sum
202.16	Paschale mysterium recensentes --- exequendum
226.16	Paschalibus nobis qs dne --- inhiare celestia
=646a	Pax tibi --- uitae tuae
25.4	Perfice in nobis qs dne gratiam tuam --- obtineamus aeternam
109.11	qs dne benignus in nobis --- impleamus
446.90	Perpetuum nobis dne tuae miserationis --- suffragia non deesse
110.11	Populum tuum dne propitius respice et quos --- cessare concede
103.11	qs propitius respice atque ab --- auerte
261.18	Porrige dexteram tuam qs dne --- gaudia comprehendat
50.9	Praesta dne fidelibus tuis --- deuotione percurrant
397.71	qs ut sicut populus --- comprehendat effectum
571.127	sanctorum --- suffragiis comitentur
111.11	Praesta nobis dne qs auxilium --- mentis et corporis
215.16	o. et misericors ds --- ueraciter portionem
117.11	qs dne ut salutaribus --- impetremus
275.19	populo tuo dne qs consolationis --- respirare concede
233.16	qs dne ds noster --- consequamur
329.33	mentibus nostris --- constantiam subsequamur
417.80	o. ds ut beatae mariae --- concedat aeterna
299.22	beatus stephanus --- promptus adiutor
461.99	continua --- consoletur
358.57	familia tua --- secunda perueniat
108.11	quae --- ieiunet
=585	famulum --- sempiternum custodias
=584	huic famulo --- gratiae concedat
208.16	huius paschalis --- conferat sempiternam
339.43	intercedente --- mundemur in mente (560)
560.125	intercedentibus --- mundemur in mente (339)
375.61	nullis nos --- petra solidasti
333.37	qui beati ualentini --- liberemur (341)(350)
467.101	gloriosos martyres claudium --- sentiamus (394)
394.68	fortes --- sentiamus (467)
199.16	gratiam --- resurgamus
273.19	iram --- consequamur
506.114	iugiter --- oprimamur aduersis
157.14	nostris excessibus --- liberemur
276.19	offensa --- gratiam sentiamus
198.16	resurrectionis --- mereamur
341.45	sanctorum tuorum alexandri --- liberemur (333)(350)

336.40 Praesta qs o. ds ut qui sanctorum tuorum tiburtii --- imitemur  
122.11 | | | | quos ieiunia --- capiamus  
14.2 | | | | saluatoris mundi --- crescat  
534.120 | | | | sicut beatorum martyrum --- praeueniant  
162.14 | | | | et misericors ds ut sicut --- credentium  
350.54 | | | | ut qui sanctorum marci --- liberemur (333)(341)  
475.103 | | | | sicut diuina --- precibus adsequamur  
42.8 Preces nostras qs dne clementer exaudi atque --- custodi  
98.11 | | | | et contra --- extende  
40.8 | | | | populi tui qs dne clementer exaudi ut qui iuste --- liberemur  
324.29 | | | | | | | | beati --- laetamur  
274.19 Precibus nostris qs dne aurem --- perueniant sempiternam  
=620 Propitiare dne supplicationibus --- auxiliante seruetur  
552.123 | | | | qs dne nobis famulis --- protegatur aduersis  
561.125 Prosint nobis --- precibus adsequamur  
=590 Protector fidelium ds subditorum --- impugnatione fantasmatica  
104.11 | | | | noster aspice ds --- famulemur  
435.88 Protege dne famulos tuos subsidiis pacis --- redde securos  
390.65 | | | | populum tuum --- defensione conserua  
249.18 Quaesumus dne ds noster diei --- infirmitas  
487.109 | | | | o. ds ut beatus andreas --- periculis exuamur  
364.58 | | | | nos geminata --- esse germanos  
282.19 | | | | qui nostris --- consequi mereamur  
48.8 Rege qs dne populum tuum --- gaudiat institutis  
217.16 Repelle dne conscriptum peccati --- uacuasti  
=624 Respice dne de caelo --- eos perfunde  
97.11 | | | | familiam tuam et praesta --- castigat  
=613 | | | | famulae --- protectione confidit  
=608 | | | | propitius super hanc famulam --- gubernante custodiat  
160.14 | | | | qs super hanc familiam tuam --- subire tormentum  
=606 | | | | super hanc famulam --- assumpsit  
247.18 Salua nos o. ds --- concede perpetuam  
476.104 Sanctae ceciliae martyris tuae --- et meritis  
546.122 Sancti confessoris tui illius nos qs dne --- intercessionibus adiuuemur  
547.122 | | | | dne confessoris tui illius --- meritis commendemur  
529.118 | | | | illius martyris --- uenerandus refulget  
422.85 | | | | iohannis baptiste --- praestet effectum  
526.118 | | | | martyris tui illius --- nobis augmentum  
393.67 | | | | sacerdotis tui martini --- fideliter imitemur  
154.14 Sanctifica qs dne nostra ieiunia --- culparum  
349.53 Sanctorum basilidis --- deuotionis accrescat  
558.125 | | | | confessorum nos --- intercessio tueatur  
537.120 | | | | martyrum --- oratione donetur  
344.48 Semper nos dne martyrum tuorum nerei --- reddat obsequio  
309.24 Sit dne beatus iohannes euuangelista --- copiosius audiatur (338)  
338.42 | | | | marcus --- copiosius audiatur (309)  
513.116 Solemnitatis apostolicae multiplicatione --- patrociniis confoueri  
232.16 Solita qs dne quos --- resurrectione laetentur  
284.19 Subiectum tibi populum qs dne --- seruire mandatis  
416.80 Subueniat dne plebi tuae --- orare sentiamus  
116.11 | | | | nobis dne misericordia --- saluari  
429.88 Supplicationem seruorum tuorum --- periculis eruamur  
=617 Suscipe qs dne pro sacro --- esto dispositor  
=601 Te dne ds supplices --- calumniam incurrat  
=644 | | | | ergo inuoco --- descendat exercitus  
=607 | | | | inuocamus dne --- usque in finem



243.18	Te lucem ueram et lucis --- luce uirtutum
210.16	Tribue qs o. ds ut illuc --- substantia
288.19	Tribulationem nostram qs dne --- propitiatus auerte
246.18	Tua nos dne ueritas s. inluminet --- prauitate defendat
51.9	Tuere dne populum tuum --- dominetur iniquitas
559.125	qs populum tuum continua --- supplicatione protectum
486.109	nos misericors ds et beati andreae --- guberna presidiis
414.80	Veneranda nobis dne huius est --- genuit incarnatum
248.18	Veritas tua qs dne luceat --- destruat inimici
527.118	Uotiuos nos dne qs beati martyris --- reddat acceptos
=618	Vere dignum equum et salutare qui foedera --- perducatur augmentum

## Appendix I.v:

### Introduction to the Collation Tables for the DC

The formulaic abbreviations in the following table (p.342) are self-explanatory. The more commonly-accepted names for the manuscripts are provided next to their abbreviations. Those that are less familiar have retained their manuscript numbers. Manuscript numbers to all the relevant witnesses can be found in the Bibliography under 'Manuscript Sources (with abbreviations)'.

Entries are left blank for three reasons. Firstly, the DC formula may not be relevant to that particular manuscript, e.g., the DC chapters would not normally occur in a sacramentary. Secondly, part of a given manuscript may not yet have been consulted. These blanks are necessary to allow for the on-going nature of this project. They affect, in particular, columns (9)-(13). Thirdly, blank entries following the special expression **all** has one of three meanings:

- **all** applies to every formula in that section which is left blank. These are missing on account of a missing text [], or on account of a deliberate omission -- ;
- **all,below** applies to the formulae which follow in that section;
- **all,except:** applies only to blank entries which occur intermittently in that section.

The arrangement of the tables divide the witnesses into four groups:

- DC, column (1);
- sacramentary traditions represented by the Gregorian, column (2) and the Gelasian, column (3);
- collectars, columns (4)-(11);
- particular sacramentaries, columns (12)-(13).

In column (3), the main Gelasian witness has been St. Gallen 348, unless the DC has followed another Gelasian, in which case, that other is cited. Most columns represent a multiple of witnesses. The general heading may introduce a group of manuscripts. For instance, in column (4), **Fr** represents the early collectar fragments (see p.342). The key character indicating the specific fragment is cited within the column, e.g., **B:25** indicates that DC 23.4 corresponds with prayer 25 in FrB. This division of a group occurs in columns (2)-(4), (9), and (12). Columns (10), (11) and (13) also have multiple entries; but as they have no general similarity, the witnesses are cited in full as they occur on p.342.

I owe a very great debt to Mr. P.G. Adamson, Computing Laboratory, University of St. Andrews. He receives full credit for the programming of this project, one which has required much time and patience from him. The convention of + and -, for folio recto and folio verso, is his own. Many other practices which have made this table more readable have also been inspired by him. The fact that this project has continued to prove exciting and instructive has largely been a result of his enthusiasm in collaboration with the unfailing support of my supervisor, Professor D.A. Bullough.

# Appendix I.v: Abbreviations for Collation Tables

## (i) Formulaic abbrev.

### Office prayers:

v1	first Vespers
nct	(1,2,3) Nocturns
pe	oratio post euangelium
m	Matins
p	Prime
t	Terce
s	Sext
n	None
v2	second Vespers
c	Compline

### Mass prayers:

adcl	ad collectam
cl	collectam
sc	secretas/super oblata
pc	post communionem/ ad completum
sp	super populum
ao	alia oratio
adjh	ad s. johannem
adfn	ad fontes
adan	ad s. andream
advp	ad vesperum

### Liturgical feasts:

vg	vigil
vt	votive
tn	translation
pt	Pentecostal weeks
ALC	Alcuin masses
ot	octave
XII	Sabbato in XII lectiones

### Special Signs:

+	folio, recto
-	folio, verso
=	place of prayer in mass/off
--	prayer omitted
[]	missing prayer: ms. lacuna
()	same prayer used elsewhere
{ }	book lost; entry known by description (i.e., rubric)

## (ii) Manuscript/Other abbrev.

GrH	Hadrianum
GrSp	supplemented Hadrianum
GrP	Paduan Gregorian
GrTc	Deshusses, <u>Grégorien</u> , v.2-3
GeV	'Old Gelasian' (Vat. 316)
GeG	'Gellone Sacramentary'
GeS	St. Gallen 348
FrS	St. Gallen 349, pp.5-32
FrR	Karlsruhe, Augiense Frgm.22
FrB	'Baturich Collectar' (Ms. ff.1-27v)
FrP	'Prüm Collectar' (Ms. ff.129r-138v)
OP	'Orazionale Pacifico' (Ms. ff.11r-61r)
DC	Durham Collectar (Ms. ff.1-61r)
Hy	BL, Cotton Titus D.xxvi-xxvii (Hyde)
Lf	'Leofric Collectar'
Wp	'Wulfstan Portiforium'
Th1	Rheims, BM 304
Th2	Rheims, BM 305
Shf	CLM, 17027
Ag1	CLM, 3908
Ag2	CLM, 3913
Fs1	CLM, 6427
Fs2	CLM, 22039
Brt	St. Omer, BM 342bis
Wrd	Bonn, Univ.bibl., Palimpsest S 366
Shn	Stuttgart, WL HB I 132
Gn	Stuttgart, WL HB I 136
Sw1	Stuttgart, WL Cod. Frgm.13
RgB	Stuttgart, WL Cod. Frgm.24
LMa	Leofric Missal, original material
LMC	Leofric Missal, Leofric additions
SUP	CLM 6333, ff.23,29,104,105
Bg	<u>Beigaben</u> of St. Gallen 348, pp.9-30
Wb	'Winchcombe Sacramentary'
F	'Fulda Sacramentary'
Wn	Fragment from Winton Domesday
RbJ	'Missal of Robert of Jumièges'
NM	'Missal of New Minster'
Rtd	'Ratoldus Sacramentary'
Bet1	Paris, BN lat.11589
Bet2	Paris, BN lat.2297
LC	Stephen of Liège, 'Liber Capitularis'
RC	'Regularis Concordia'
Ae	Aelfric's 'Letter to Eynsham'
Tst	<u>Capitella</u> in Tolhurst ( <u>Hyde Abbey Breviary</u> , v.6)



DC 1	Gr 2	Ge 3	Fr 4	OP 5	Hy 6	Lf 7	Wp 8	Th 9	CLM 10	misc col 11	LM 12	varia 13
------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	--------	-------------	-------	----------

.1 [ITEM CAPITULA IN EPIPHANIA]

+1.1				[SRBP]all	[]all	--	--			LC: {}		
------	--	--	--	-----------	-------	----	----	--	--	--------	--	--

+2.1						--	--					
+3.1						--	--					
+4.1						--	--					
+5.1						--	--					
+6.1						--	--					
+7.1						--	--					

.2 ITEM COLLECTA IN EPIPHANIA

8.2	H:87=cl	S:95	[SRBP]all	--all, except: 14	[]all	40=m	218=m			LC: {}	a:67=cl	F:119
9.2	H:92=ao	S:102				40=t	222=t		Shf: f30v		a:67=ap	F:126
10.2	H:93=ao	S:112				44=v2	228=n		Shf: f30v		a:68=cl	Wn:17=cl RbJ:55
11.2	H:94=ao	S:103		16		42=v2	232=v2				a:67=ao	F:127
12.2	H:95=ao	S: (38)				41=s	225=s		Shf: f31+		a:67=ao	F:128
13.2	H:96=ao	S:104		17		--	--		Shf: f31-		a:68=ao	Sup:2.4
14.2	H:97=ao	S:105		15		41=n	243=n		Shf: f31+		a:68=ao	F:130
15.2	H:98=ao	S:115				39=v2	208=v1		Shf: f31+		a:68=sp	F:129
												Wn:15
												Wn:16=ao, (20=sp)
												RbJ:55
												F:137

.3 IIII. NON' FEBR' PURIFICATIO SANCTE MARIE (capitula)

+16.3				[SRBP]all	[]all	--	--	2if59+		LC: {}		
+17.3						--	--	2if59+				
+18.3						--	--	2if59+				
+19.3						--	--	2if59+				
+20.3						--	--	2if59+				
+21.3						--	--	2if59+				

DC 1	Gr 2	Ge 3	Fr 4	OP 5	Hy 6	Lf 7	Wp 8	Th 9	CLM 10	misc ool 11	LM 12	varia 13
+22.3						--	--	2if59+				
		.4 ITEM COLLECTIONES (purificatio s. Mariae)										
23.4	H:123=adol	S:184	[SR] B:25 P:--	--	[]all	--	1434	1if57+ 2if61+	Shf:31-	Bt:tf12- Shn:tf44+ Gn:tf47- LC: {}	a:70=adol	RC:31 Ae:180=t F:194=adol Wn:77
24.4	H:124=ol	S:185	[SR] B:19 P:20=m	19		46=m	1428=m	2if59=-p, t,v2		Shn:tf44+ Gn:tf47-	a:70=cl	F:195 Wn:78=cl RBJ:159
25.4	H:127=ao	G:200	[S] R:1 B:-- P:18=v1	--		46=v1	1425=v1	1if57+ 2if59=-v1		Shn:tf44+ Gn:tf47-	a:71=sp	F:200 Wn:82=sp RBJ:160
		.5 ITEM CAPITULA IN CAPUT IEIUNII										
+26.5			[SRBP]all	[]all	[]all	83=m 84=s	400=m					
+27.5						--	--					
+28.5						--	--					
+29.5						84=n, 82=n	427=m, 420=v					
+30.5						--	--					
		.6 INCIP' CAPITULA IN LXX.										
+31.6			[SRBP]all	[]all	[]all	--	326=v1			LC: {}		
+32.6						--	--					
+33.6						--	--					
		.7 IN LX. (capitula)										
+34.7			[SRBP]all	[]all		--	366=dot			LC: {}		
+35.7						--	392=s					
+36.7						(80=m)	395=n					
+37.7						(62=v2)	(302=m)					
+38.7						--	--					

DC 1	Gr 2	Ge 3	Fr 4	OP 5	Hy 6	Lf 7	Wp 8	Th 9	CLM 10	misc col 11	LM 12	varia 13
+39.7							(63=m) (304=t)					

.8 HAE SUNT COLLECTIONES IN SEPTUAGESIMA USQUE CAPUT IEIUNII

40.8	H: (801)	S:233=sp	B:27=v [SRP]all	--all	[ ]all	74=s	351=s				a:72=cl	F:330
41.8	H:147=cl	S:234=cl	P:(76)=m B:428			77=m	370=m				a:72=cl	Ae:181 F:332
42.8	H:150=cl	S:240=cl	R:(177) B:--all, below			80=v1	--				a:73=cl	
43.8	--	S:228=cl				72=v1	331=v1				a:72=sp	F:331
44.8	--	S:229=cl				73=m	342=m				a:--	F:325
45.8	H:(814)	S:229=cl				81=t	390=t				a:--	F:345
46.8	H:193=ao	S:(178)				(346=v1)	507=n				a:78=cl	Wn:41=cl RbJ:57
47.8	Sp:(1102=cl)	S:(155)				--	--				a:69=cl	Wn:37=cl RbJ:57
48.8	--	S:239=sp				79=v2	382=v2			Tet:93	a:72=sp	RC:14 F:337

.9 FERIA .IIII. CAPUT IEIUNII

49.9	H:153=cl	S:251=ao	[SRP]all B:--all, except: B:30=v	--all	[ ]all	83=m	405=m				a:74	F:366=adol
50.9	H:154=cl	S:252=cl				84=t	408=t				a:74=cl	F:367=cl
51.9	H:165=sp	S:256=sp				84=n	410=s				a:75=sp	F:371=sp
52.9	H:158=cl	G:(2703)		(183)	(F41+)	85=m	426=v				a:74=cl	F:374=ao
53.9	H:162=cl	S:261=cl				86=m	432v				a:74=cl	F:382=cl
54.9	T:338*	S:257=po				85=m	--				a:--	F:373=cl
55.9	--	S:258				86=v	--				a:--	F:381=v2
56.9	--	S:262=cl				--	--				a:--	F:383=ao
57.9	--	S:266=cl				87=n	435				a:--	F:395=v2
58.9	--	S:267=ao				--	--				a:75=cl	F:390=cl

DC 1	Gr 2	Ge 3	Fr 4	OP 5	Hy 6	Lf 7	Wp 8	Th 9	CLM 10	miso col 11	LM 12	varia 13
------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	--------	-------------	-------	----------

.10 CAPIT' IN QUADRAGESIMA .I.

+59.10				[SHP]	[all	89=t	501=t					
+60.10						--	504=s					
+61.10						90=s	506=n					
+62.10						91=v2	462=v2					
+63.10						91=v2	462=v2					
+64.10						--	--					
+65.10						--	--					
+66.10						90=n	--					
+67.10						--	552=n					
+68.10						--	--					
+69.10						--	--					
+70.10						--	--					
+71.10						--	--					
+72.10						--	--					
+73.10						--	--					
+74.10						88=v1	--					
+75.10						--	454=t, 457=s					
+76.10						--	--					
+77.10						--	446=n					
+78.10						--	298=v2					
+79.10						(160=v2)	538=v1					
+80.10						103=n	542=n					
+81.10						--	--					
+82.10						--	--					
+83.10						(278)	546=t					
+84.10						--	--					
+85.10						--	(1230=v2)					
+86.10						--	591=t					
+87.10						105=v2	(250)					
+88.10						--	--					
+89.10						--	--					
+90.10						--	--					
+91.10						75=v2	(356)					
+92.10						--	594=s					

DC 1	Gr 2	Ge 3	Fr 4	Op 5	Ry 6	Lf 7	Wp 8	Th 9	CLM 10	misc cool 11	LM 12	varia 13
.11 COLLECTIONES UNDE SUPRA (caput ieiunium)												
93.11	H:166	S:271=ol	[SP]all RB--all, except:	--all, except:	[Jall	89=	452=		Shf:--all	LC:{}		
94.11	H:169=v2	S:277=v2	B:37,430				458=s		Shf:f32+			
95.11	H:170=v2	S:278=v2	B:38,431				461=n		Shf:f32+			
			R:(212)									
96.11	H:171=ol	S:279=ol				91=	467=		Shf:f32-			
97.11	H:175=ol	S:285=ol				92=	472=					
98.11	H:179=ol	S:291=ol				93=	476=		Shf:f32-			
99.11	H:180=ao	S:292=ao		26		94=	478=v					
100.11	H:183=sp	S:(565)	B:433			93=v	479=v					
101.11	H:187=sp	S:296=sp										
102.11	H:188=ol	S:303=ol	B:43			94=	485=					
103.11	H:192=XII	S:309=XII				95=	489					
104.11	H:194=XII	S:310=XII					547=t					
105.11	H:195=XII	S:311=XII	B:435			95=s	491		Shf:f33+			
106.11	H:198=XII	S:312=XII	B:36			95=n				Tst:84=p		
107.11	H:202=ol	S:319=ol	B:140			97=	499=					
108.11	H:205=ol	S:325=ol				99=	513=					
109.11	H:209=ol	S:330=ol				99=	519=		Shf:f32-			
110.11	H:213=ol	S:339=sp	R:4		29	100=	524=					
111.11	H:217=ol	S:336=ao				100=	528=		Shf:f32-			
112.11	H:221=ol	S:345=ol	R:6			101=	532		Shf:f33-			
113.11	H:225=ol	S:350=ol	R:8			101=	536					
114.11	H:228=sp	S:(193)	R:9									
			B:437									
115.11	H:232=ol	S:361=ol					558=		Shf:f33+			
116.11	H:235=sp	S:(1385)	B:143			(3=t)	(16=t)					
117.11	H:240=ol	S:371=ol				106=	568=		Shf:f33-			
118.11	H:243=ol	S:380=sp	R:22									

Wn:(45),(100)  
RbJ:(58),  
(100)  
Wn:105=ol  
RbJ:72  
Wn:109=sp  
RbJ:72  
RbJ:73  
Wn:--  
Wn:118=sp  
RbJ:74

Sup:3.1

DC 1	Gr 2	Ge 3	Fr 4	OP 5	Hy 6	Lf 7	Wp 8	Th 9	CLM 10	misc col 11	LM 12	varia 13
119.11	H:248=ol	S:381=ol				107=m	576=m		Shf: f33+			Wn: 124=cl RbJ: 74
120.11	H:259=ao	S:392=ao				110=t	589=m		Shf: f33+			Wn: 138=sp RbJ: 76
121.11	H:268=ol	S:407=ol				--	--		Shf: f33+			Wn: 149=cl RbJ: 77
122.11	H:269=ao	S:408=ao				113=m	616=m		Shf: f33+			Wn: 150=ao RbJ: 78
123.11	H:277=ol	S:417=ol				114=m	621=m					Wn: 160=cl RbJ: 79
124.11	H:281=ol	S: (882)	R:11			114=m	625					Wn: 165=cl RbJ: 79
125.11	H:284=sp	S:428=ao	R:12			--	626					Wn: 169=sp RbJ: 80

.12 ITEM CAPIT' EX PROFETIS DE PASSIONE DOMINI

+126.12												
+127.12												
+128.12												
+129.12												
+130.12												
+131.12												
+132.12												
+133.12												
+134.12												
+135.12												
+136.12												
+137.12												
+138.12												
+139.12												
+140.12												

LC: {}

.13 ITEM CAPITULE EX APOSTOLORUM (de passione dni)

+141.13												
+142.13												
+143.13												

LC: {}

DC 1	Gr 2	Ge 3	Fr 4	OP 5	Hy 6	Lf 7	Wp 8	Th 9	CLM 10	miso ool 11	LM 12	varia 13
+144.13						148=v1	681=t					
+145.13						--	684=s					
+146.13						--	686=n					
+147.13						--	(1133=v2)					
+148.13						--	--					
+149.13						--	--					
.14 ITEM COLLECTA (de passione dni)												
150.14	H:285=cl>	S:<427>	[SRP]all R:13	--all, except:	[]all	<115=m>	<632=v1>			LC: {}	a:<87=cl>	F:<578=cl>
151.14	H:312=cl	S:463	R:--all, except:	40		122=m	[]			Sw1:2.2		Sup:6.1 Wn:204=cl RBJ:84 Wn:208=cl RBJ:85 Wn:212=sp RBJ:85
152.14	H:315=cl	S:469				129=s	685=s					Wn:179=cl RBJ:81
153.14	H:318=sp	S:<341>				(81=s)	393=s					Wn:213=cl RBJ:85
154.14	H:288=cl	S:433	R:15	25		118=m	659=m					Wn:218=cl RBJ:86
155.14	H:292=cl	S:438				119=m	663=m					Wn:219=ao RBJ:86=ao
156.14	H:319=cl	S:474			(f35+)	126=m	687=n			Sw1:1.9		
157.14	H:323=cl	S:479				127=m	716=m					
158.14	H:324=ao	S:480		43		131=p, 132=o,p	719=v					F:638=v2 RBJ:--
159.14	H:326=ao	S:484			(f72-)	--	--			Sw1:1.8	a:--	F:623 RBJ:--
160.14	H:327=sp	S:485				(169=t)	--					
161.14	--	S:470=cl				126=v2	697=v					
162.14	--	S:482				129=n,o	720=v					
.15 CAPITULA DE RESURRECTIONE DOMINI												
+163.15			[SRP]all	[]all	[]all, 152=v2	856				LC: {}		
					(f30-,f31-)							



DC 1	Gr 2	Gr 3	Fr 4	OP 5	Hy 6	Lf 7	Wp 8	Th 9	CLM 10	misc ool 11	LM 12	varia 13
+164.15						---	863=v1					
+165.15						134=m	758=m					
+166.15						---	---					
+167.15						137=m	775=m					
+168.15						---	---					
+169.15						---	---					
+170.15						---	850=s					
+171.15						148=v1	837=v1					
+172.15						156=m	867=m					
+173.15						---	(1108=v2)					
+174.15						---	---					
+175.15						---	908=t					
+176.15						---	---					
+177.15						158=v2	879=v1					
+178.15						---	887=n					
+179.15						---	---					
+180.15					(r30+)	164=v1	902=v1					
+181.15						---	914=v2					
+182.15						---	---					
+183.15						152=n	853=n					
+184.15						---	---					
+185.15						---	---					
+186.15						---	---					
+187.15						---	---					
+188.15						---	---					
+189.15						---	---					
+190.15						---	---					
+191.15						---	---					
+192.15						---	---					
+193.15						(108=v1)	---					
+194.15						---	(1651=t)					

.16 COLLECTA IN SABATO SANCTO PASCHA												
195.16	H:377=ol[vq]	S:554=ol[vq]	SHB--all, --all, [P]all except: except: [P]all	[P]all	[P]all	---	---			LC: {}		Sup: 7.1 RC: 48
196.16	H:389=ol	S:555=ol[vq]	B:60			134=m, p	760=m, p			Wrd: 9.1=pe		

DC 1	Gr 2	Ge 3	Fr 4	OP 5	Hy 6	Lf 7	Wp 8	Th 9	CLM 10	Misc col 11	LM 12	varia 13
197.16	H:389	S:574	R:25	45		135=t,v2	764=t					Sup:8.7
198.16	H:390=adfn	S:575=adfn	R:26			136=v2	767=s					Sup:8.8
199.16	H:391=adan	S:576=adan	R:27			135=s,v2	769=n					Sup:8.8
200.16	H:401=ol	S:587=ol	R:32			139=m,p	792=m					
201.16	H:405=v2	S:593=v2	R:33			<140=t>	<793=t>					
			B:44									
202.16	--	S:579=ao				--	--				at---	F:735=ao RbJ:--
203.16	--	S:588=ao				--	--				at---	F:746=ao RbJ:--
204.16	H:430=ao	S:624=ao				--	--				at103=ao	F:783=ao RbJ:107=ao
205.16	H:392=ol	S:578	B:59			137=m,p	778=m					
206.16	H:407=ad,jh	S:595=ad,jh	R:28									
			S:9	48		140=n	795=n					
			B:45									
207.16	H:408=ol	S:596=ol	R:34			141=m	802=m					
			B:62									
208.16	H:412=v2	S:602=v2	R:35			141=t	803=t					
			S:10									
			B:46=v2									
209.16	H:413=adfn	S:603=adfn	R:36			142=s	804=s					
			S:11									
			B:47									
210.16	H:414=adan	S:604=adan	R:37			142=n	805=n					
			B:48									
211.16	H:415=ol	S:605=ol	R:38			143=m	813=m					
			B:63									
212.16	H:420=ol	S:611	R:39			143=t	814=t					
			B:49=v2									
			R:40									
213.16	H:421=adfn	S:612=adfn	B:50			144=s	815=s					
			R:41									
214.16	H:427=ao	S:644=ao	R:59			161=v2	788=v2					
215.16	H:428=ao	S:644b1s=ao	S:27	55		140=v2	798=v2					RgB:1.1
			R:60									
216.16	H:449=ao	S:645=ao	S:28	56		161=v1	799=v1					
			R:61									

RC:47,57

DC 1	Gr 2	Ge 3	Fr 4	OP 5	Hy 6	Lf 7	Wp 8	Th 9	CLM 10	misc cool 11	LM 12	varia 13
217.16	H:450=ao	S:646=ao	S:29 R:62	57		163=s	896=s					
218.16	H:451=ao	S:647=ao	S:30 R:63	58		--	898=n			RgB:1.2		
219.16	H:452=ao	S:648=ao	S:31 R:64			164=v2	901=v2					
220.16	H:454=ao	S:650=ao	S:33			142=v2	904=v1					
221.16	H:453=ao	S:649=ao	S:32			159=t	885=t					
222.16	H:455=ao	G:820	S:34			165=t	909=t					
223.16	H:456=ao	S:577=ao	S:3			157=n	875=n					
224.16	H:457=ao	G:832	S:35 B:178 R:(43)	59		156=t	871=t					
225.16	--	S:653=ao	S:38			163=n	820=v				a:--	F:825 RbJ:--
226.16	--	S:651=ao	S:36			166=n	913=n				a:--	F:823 RbJ:--
227.16	--	S:659=ao	S:44			160=n	826=n				a:--	F:826 RbJ:--
228.16	--	S:662=ao	S:47			--	--				a:--	F:828 RbJ:--
229.16	H:442=ao	S:640=ao	R:54	53		157=s	873=s					
230.16	H:443=ao	S:641=ao	R:55			139=v2	785=v2					
231.16	H:446=ao	S:643=ao	R:58	54		160=s	787=v					
232.16	--	S:660=ao	S:45			166=s	911=s			RgB:2		F:827 RbJ:--
233.16	H:458=ao	S:(100=pc)				152=n	855=n					
234.16	H:459=ao	S:(114=ao)			(r73+)	148=n	836=s					
235.16	To:(4260)	S:(1570=sp)				133=n	--					

.17 HAE SUNT CAPITULAE IN LAETANIA MAIORE.

LC: {}

[ ]all

[ ]all

[ ]all

[ ]all

[SNBP]all

[ ]all

[ ]all

[ ]all

[ ]all

[ ]all

.18

[ORATIONES COTIDIANAE]

239.18	Sp:1488=m	G:2106	[SP]all RB--all, except:	201	--all, except:	65=m	1348=m			
240.18	H:939=m	G:2107	B:205	202	f44+	--	1341=m			
241.18	Sp:1491=m	G:2108		203		--	1349=m			
242.18	Sp:1492=m	G:2109	B:398	204		66=m	1350=m			
243.18	Sp:1493=m	G:2110		205	f44+	67=m	1351=m			
244.18	H:935=m	G:2189	B:185	196		--	1335=m			
245.18	H:936=m	A:1902	B:187	197		71=0	1337=m			Tst:63
246.18	H:937=m	G:2116	B:190	210		--	1339=m			
247.18	H:938=m	G:2117	B:200	211		(130=0)	(2683=2not)			Tst:63
248.18	Sp:1498=m	A:1880		--	f44+	--	(2600=2not)			
249.18	H:940=m	G:2143	B:206	221		--	1345=m			
250.18	H:942=m	G:2118	R:213	212		--	(2736=2not)			
251.18	Sp:1494=m	G:2111	B:211,401	206	f44+	66=m	1352=m			
252.18	Sp:1495=m	G:2112	R:215	--		--	--			
253.18	Sp:1496=m	G:2113		207		--	1354=m			
254.18	Sp:1490=m	A:1877		--all, below		66=m	1343=m			
255.18	H:927	S:(210)				(299=t)	--			
256.18	H:909	S:(198)	B:172			--	--			
257.18	H:912	S:(126)	B:175			(296=t)	--			
258.18	H:921	G:(1679)	B:184			--	(28=v2)			
259.18	H:929	S:(947)	R:210							
260.18	H:901	G:(1584)	B:232		(f33--)	(261=m)	(1095=v2)			
261.18	H:918	S:(183)	B:164			--	--			
			R:199			(297=m)	--			
			B:181							
			R:208							

.19

ITEM ALIA ORAT PRO PECCATIS

262.19	H:840	S:(447)	B:118	163	--	(53=v1)	1332			
			[SRP]all							

DC 1	Gr 2	Ge 3	Fr 4	OP 5	Hy 6	Lf 7	Wp 8	Th 9	CLM 10	miso col 11	LM 12	varia 13
263.19	H:842	G:(2176)	B:120	165	f38+	(55=t)	1333					
264.19	H:868	G:(915)	B:--all, except:	--	f41-	--	--					
265.19	H:853	S:(1323)		176	f39-	(60=v1)	(301=v2)					
266.19	H:844	S:(462)	B:122	167	f38-	(56=m)	(278=m)					
267.19	H:851	G:(900)	B:129	174	f39+	--	--					
268.19	H:870	G:(917)		189	f42+	--	--					
269.19	H:843	S:(459)	B:121	166	f38+	(55=s)	(276=s)					
270.19	H:850	G:2701	B:128	173	f39+	--	--					
271.19	H:861	S:(377)		(32)	f40-	--	--					
272.19	H:872	S:(895)	B:123,136 B:(101)	191	f33+	(260=v2)	(608=m)					
273.19	H:859	G:(901)	B:124	--	f40-	(61=n)	(309=n)					
274.19	H:847	G:2177	B:125	170	f38-	(57=m)	(291=m)					
275.19	H:848	G:(921)	B:126	171	f39+	(58=t), (201=t)	(293=t)					
276.19	H:866	G:2703		185	f41-	--	(2360=v)					
277.19	H:845	S:(439)		168	--	(56=v2)	(280=v)					
278.19	H:846	G:(2178)		169	f38-	(57=v1)	--					
279.19	H:858	G:2702		181	f40+	--	--					
280.19	H:873	G:(2181)	B:137	192	f42+	(104=s)	550=s					
281.19	H:875	G:(1786)	B:139	193	f42-	(64=v1)	1331					
282.19	H:849	G:2700	B:127	172	f39+	(58=s)	(295=s)					
283.19	H:<862>	G:(914)		--	--	--	--					
284.19	H:854	S:(360)		177	f39-	(103=t)	--					
285.19	H:871	G:(916)	B:135	190	f42+	--	1329					
286.19	H:874	G:2761	B:286	194	f42-	(63=v1)	1330					
287.19	H:867	G:(1955)		186	f41-	--	--					
288.19	H:860	G:(2179)		182	f40-	(62=v2)	(311=v2)					
289.19	H:865	G:(903)		184	f41+	--	--					
.21 IN NAT' SC'I STEPHANI. MARTIRIS (26 dec, capitula)												
+290.21			[SRBP]all	[]all	[]all	25=m	1370=m					LG: {}
+291.21						25=m	1370=m					
+292.21						26=t	1375=t					
+293.21						27=v2	1383=v2					

Wn: (143)  
RbJ: (77)

Wn: (123=sp)  
RbJ: (74)

DC 1	Gr 2	Ge 3	Fr 4	OP 5	Hy 6	Lf 7	Wp 8	Th 9	CLM 10	Miso ool 11	LM 12	varia 13
+294.21			--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
	.22	ITEM COLLECTE UNDE SUPRA (26 dec, nat. s. stephani)										
295.22	H:62=cl	S:41	[SRP]all B:--	--all, except:	[ ]all	26=m	1372=m			LC:{}	a:131	F:72
296.22	H:65=ao	S:42	B:19			25=v1	1369=v1				a:132	F:73
297.22	H:66=ao	S:49	B:--			26=t	1376=t				a:132	F:79
298.22	P:29=ao	S:47	B:--			--	--				a:--	F:78
299.22	P:31=ao	S:48	B:--	8		27=n	1382=n				a:--	F:81
	.23	VI. KL' IANU' NT'. SC'I IOHAN' EUANG' (27 dec, capitula)										
+300.23			[SRBP]all	[ ]all	[ ]all	--	--			LC:{}		
+301.23						--	--					
+302.23						--	--					
+303.23						--	--					
+304.23						(332)=t	--					
+305.23						--	--					
	.24	ITEM COLLECTIONES (27 dec, nat. s. iohannis euang.)										
306.24	H:67=cl	S:51	[SH]all BP--all, except: P:10=m	--all	[ ]all	29=t	1394=t			LC:{}	a:132	F:82
307.24	H:70=v2	S:(1207)	B:21			--	--				a:133	F:--
308.24	H:71=adfn	S:(1208)	B:22			30=s	1397=s				a:133	F:--
309.24	H:72=adan	S:(1212)				30=n	1400=n				a:133	F:91
310.24	H:73=ao	S:50	P:9=pe			28=v1	1387=v1				a:133	F:83
311.24	H:74=ao	S:(1119)	P:11=v2			--	(1904)				a:--	F:90
	.25	IN NT'. INNOCENTIUM (28 dec, capitula)										
+312.25			[SRBP]all	[ ]all	[ ]all	31=m	1406=m			LC:{}		
+313.25						--	--					
+314.25						32=t	1411=t					

DC 1	Gr 2	Ge 3	Fr 4	OP 5	Hy 6	Lf 7	Wp 8	Th 9	CLM 10	misc col 11	LM 12	varia 13
+315.25 +316.25						33=s (326=n)	1414=s (2052=n)					
	.26	ITEM COLLECTIONES AD INNOCENTES (28 dec)										
317.26	H:75=cl	S:58	[SRB]all P:12=pe P:14=v2	--	[ ]all	32=m	1408=m		LC:{ }			
318.26	H:78=ao	S:64		11		31=v1	1405=v1					Wn:2=ao RbJ:149
319.26	--	--		--		34=v2	1421=v2			a:--		F:98=ao RbJ:-- F:100=ao P:101=ao
320.26	--	S:66		--		32=t	1412=t					
321.26	--	S:65		--		33=s	1415=s			a:--		
	.27	.II KL' IAN' NA' SC'I SILUESTRI (31 dec)										
322.27	H:79=cl	S:73	[SRBP] R:(175)	[ ]	[ ], (f26r)	[ ]	1731					Wn:3=cl RbJ:149
	.28	XVIII. KL' FEBRU' NT' SC'E FELICIS (14 ian =xix, sc'i feliois in pincis)										
323.28	H:99=cl	S:116	[SRBP]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	1732					Wn:50=cl RbJ:151
	.29	XVI. KL' FEB' NT' SC'E MARCELLE (16 ian =xvii, sc'i marcellid)										
324.29	H:102=cl	S:127	[SRBP]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	1734					Wn:53=cl RbJ:152
	.30	XV. KL' FEB' NT' SC'E PRISCE MA' (18 ian)										
325.30	H:105=cl	S:132	[SRBP] R:(189)	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	1737					Wn:56=cl RbJ:153
	.31	XIII. KL' FEB' NT' SC'E FABIANI MAR'. (20 ian =sc'i)										
326.31	H:108=cl	S:138	[SRBP] R:(131) P:(55=m)	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	1740					Wn:59=cl RbJ:153



DC 1	Gr 2	Ge 3	Fr 4	OP 5	Hy 6	Lf 7	Wp 8	Th 9	CLM 10	misc ool 11	LM 12	varia 13
327.32	H:111=cl	.32 EODEM DIE SC'I SEBASTI' (20 ian)	[SRB] R: (143), (267) P:15=v1	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	1739					Wn:62=cl RbJ:154
328.33	H:114	.33 XII. KL' FEBRU' NT' SC'E AGNETIS UIR' (21 ian)	[SRBP]all --	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	1741					Wn:66=cl RbJ:154
329.33	H:(699)	S:148	18			[ ]	(1746)					
330.34	H:117=cl	.34 XI. KL' SC'I VINCENTI MAR' (22 ian)	[SRBP]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	1742			RgB:(8.2)		Wn:70 RbJ:155
331.35	H:120=cl	.35 .V. KL' OCTAVAS AGNETIS (28 ian)	[SRBP]	[ ]	[ ]	(342=v2)	(1686)					Wn:(74) RbJ:157
332.36	H:128=cl	.36 N FEB' SC'E AGATHE UIR' (5 feb)	[SBP] R: (144), (187)	--	[ ]	(339=v1), (343=v1)	1748			Br:t:f13+		Wn:86=cl RbJ:160
333.37	H:134=cl	.37 .VI. DECIMA KL' MAI' SC'I VALENTINI (14 feb =martii)	[SBP] R: (148)	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	1755					Wn:93=cl RbJ:163
334.38	H:137=cl	.38 .IIII. ID' MART' SC'I GREGO' PAP'. (12 mar)	[SRBP]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	1760			Br:t:f15-		Wn:96=cl RbJ:166

DC 1	Gr 2	Ge 3	Fr 4	OP 5	Hy 6	Lf 7	Wp 8	Th 9	CLM 10	misc col 11	LM 12	varia 13
335.39	H:4140=cl>	--	S:-- [R] B:33 P:21=v1	--	[ ]	<49=v1>	<1449=v1>	1:<f36-> 2:<f62->		LC:{ }	a:71=cl	Wb:954=cl F:<264=cl>
336.40	H:460=cl	S:701	[SRBP]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	1769			RgB:7		
337.41	H:463=cl	S:(850)	[SRB] P:25=v1	--	[ ]	(234=t)	1611			RgB:8.1		
338.42	H:(243*)	S:(1212)	[SRBP]	[ ]	[ ]	(316=s)	(1400=n)				a:(161)	F:(1329)
339.43	H:476=cl	S:(143)	[SRP] R:72	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	1772			RgB:11		
340.44	H:479=cl	S:731	P:27=v1 [SE] R:73,(172)	--	[ ]	[ ]	1773			RgB:12		
341.45	H:482=cl	S:740	[SRP] P:30=v1 R:75	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	1774			RgB:13.2		

DC 1	Gr 2	Ge 3	Fr 4	OP 5	Ey 6	Lf 7	Wp 8	Th 9	CLM 10	misc col 11	LM 12	varia 13
342.46	H:485=cl	S:753	[SBP] R:76	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	1787					
343.47	H:488=cl	S:(787)	[SBP] R:77, (186)	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	1788					
344.48	H:136=cl	S:759	[SRBP]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	<1789>				a:142	MM:95=cl F:908
345.49	H:494=cl	S:763	[SRBP]	[ ]	[ ]	(222=sa)	1790					
346.50	H:504=cl	S:787	[SBP] R:84	--	[ ]	[ ]	1788					
347.51	H:559=cl	S:(731)	[SBP] R:103, (185) P:(48=v1)	--	[ ]	[ ]	1773					
348.52	H:158=cl	S:864	[SRBP]	--	(225--)	[ ]	1800				a:144	F:1044

DC 1	Gr 2	Ge 3	Fr 4	OP 5	Hy 6	Lf 7	Wp 8	Th 9	CLM 10	misc col 11	LM 12	varia 13
	.53	II. ID' IUN' SCOR' BASILIDIS CIRINI NABORTIS ET NAZARII. (12 iun)										
349.53	H:164=cl	S:867	[SRBP]	--	[]	[]	1803				a:144	F:1050
	.54	III. KL' IULI MARCI ET MARCELLIANI. (18 iun =xiv)										
350.54	H:562=cl	S:(740)	[SBP] R:104	--	[]	[]	1774					
	.55	III. KL' IULI SC'OR' PROTASI ET GERUASI. (19 iun =xiii kl iuli)										
351.55	H:565=cl	S:(731)	[SBP] R:105	--	[]	[]	1773					
	.56	VIII. KL' IULI UIGIGILIA SC' IOHAN' BAB' (23 iun, capitula =uigilia, bap.)										
+352.56 +353.56 +354.56 +355.56 +356.56 +357.56			[SRBP]all [Jall]	[Jall]	[Jall]	192=m 193=t 193=s 192=v1 195=v2	1469=m 1474=t 1477=s 1485=v1 1482=v2			LC:{}		
	.57	ITEM COLLECTA (24 iun., collecta ad mat. s. ioh. bap.)										
358.57	H:568=cl[vg]	S:919=cl[vg]	SP--all, except: [B]all R:106 P:33=v1	--all, except:	[Jall]	--	--			LC:{}		
359.57	H:571=cl	S:925=cl	R:108									
360.57	H:577=v2	S:934=ao	S:66 R:110	78	193=t	1475=t			Shf:if40-			
361.57	H:579=ao	S:(753)	P:(64=v2) S:68 R:112		--	--	--		Shf:if41+			

DC 1	Gr 2	Ge 3	Fr 4	OP 5	Hy 6	Lf 7	Wp 8	Th 9	CLM 10	misc ool 11	LM 12	varia 13
362.57	H:578=adfn	S:935=adfn	S:67 R:111 P:35=v2 S:71 R:115	76		19A=s	1478=s		Shf:rf41+			
363.57	H:582=ao	S:939				--	--		Shf:rf40-			
.58	VI. KL' IUL' SCOR' IOHA' ET PAULI. (26 iun)											
364.58	H:583=cl	S:943=cl	[SB] R:116 P:36=v1	[]	[]	[]	1818					
.59	IIII. KAL' IULI SC'E LEONIS PAPE. (28 iun =so'i)											
365.59	H:586=cl	---	[SBP] R:117	[]	[]	[]	1819					
.60	III. KL' IULI PAS' SC'I PETRI APL'I. (29 iun, capitula ad nat.)											
+366.60			[SRBP]all	[]all	[]all	197=t	1494=t		LC: {}			
+367.60						--	--					
+368.60						--	--					
+369.60						--	--					
+370.60						197=s	1497=s					
+371.60						198=n	(1500=n)					
+372.60						(216=v2)	--					
.61	SECUNTUR COLLECTE. (29 iun, ad nat. s. petri collectae)											
373.61	---	S:952=cl[vg]	SRBP---, except:	(115)	[]all	196=v1	1488=v1		Ag2:rf132-	LC: {}	a:--	F:(1097)
374.61	H:593=v1	S:958=v1	S:73 R:11	79		199=v2	1504=v2		Shf:rf41+ Ag2:rf132-			
375.61	H:589=v1	S:953=v1	P:39=m R:118 P:38=v1, (42=m)	--		(216=n)	(1998=v1)		Ag2:rf132-			

DC 1	Gr 2	Ge 3	Fr 4	OP 5	Hy 6	Lf 7	Wp 8	Th 9	CLM 10	misc col 11	LM 12	varia 13
376.61	H:598=v1	S:217	R:121	(21)		197=t	1495=t		Shf:41+ Ag2:f			
377.61	H:599=ao	S:965=v1	R:122 P:40=v2	81		(312=t)	(2000=m)		Ag2:f			
378.61	H:600=ao	S:967	S:(76) R:123, (173)	--		(313=v2)	(2010=n)		Ag2:f			
379.61	--	--	--	--		--	--				a:--	F:--
.62 II. KL'. SC'I PAULI APL'I. (30 iun, capitula ad nat.)												
+380.62			[SRBP]all	[]all		--	--			LC: {}		
+381.62						--	--					
+381.62						--	--					
+382.62						--	--					
+383.62						202=v2	1519=v2					
.63 SECUNTUR COL' (30 iun, collecta ad nat. s. pauli)												
384.63	H:604	S:970	S:-- R:127 [B]	83		[]all	200=v1	1506=v1	Shf:41-	LC: {}		
385.63	--	S:(968)	P:41=pe S:(77)	(82)		--	--				a:--	F:(1104)
386.63	--	S:(957=v1)	RP-- S:(72)	--		(204=t)	(1525=m)		Ag2:f		a:--	F:(1116)
			R:-- P:43=v2									
.64 .II. N IULI OCTAVAS APL'ORUM (6 iul, capitula)												
+387.64			[SRBP]all	[]all		203=v1	--					
+388.64						--	--					
.65 SECUNTUR COLL' (6 iul, collecta ad oct. apostolorum)												
389.65	H:607=cl	S:981	[S]all R:128 B:86 P:46=v1	--		[]all	203=v1	1523=v				

DC 1	Gr 2	Ge 3	Fr 4	OP 5	Hy 6	Lf 7	Wp 8	Th 9	CLM 10	misc ool 11	LM 12	varia 13
390.65	H:609=pc	S:984=sp	R:125, (74), (174) B:--- P:47=m S:(75) RBP---	84	(f22+)	(313=n)	(2004=t)		Shf: f41-			F:(1112=sp)
391.65	--	S:(966=ao)	--	--	--	--	--					F:(1115=ao)
392.66	H:610=cl	S:973	[SB] R:129 P:44=v1	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	1820					
393.67	--	--	[SRBP]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	--				at---	F:---
394.68	H:613=cl	S:986	[SBP] R:130 P:(16=m)	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	1835					
395.69	To:3544=ao H:170=cl	S:995=cl	[SRBP]	(22)[nt]	[ ]	[ ]	--	1:f83+ 2:f63+	Ag1:f142+ Fs1:f76-	Br:f37- Sm:f46+ Gn:f49-		Bet:f95-[tn] Bet2:f32+[tn] Rtd:f191+[ot]
396.70	H:177=cl	S:1009	[SRB] P:51=v1	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	1862					
397.71	H:191=cl	S:1014	[SBP] R:---	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	1877					



DC 1	Gr 2	Ge 3	Fr 4	OP 5	Hy 6	Lf 7	Wp 8	Tb 9	CLM 10	misc col 11	LM 12	varia 13
		.72	.III. KL' AGUSTUS. SCORUM ABDO ET SENNES. (30 iul =abdon)									
398.72	H:619=cl	S:1020	[SRP] R:132	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	1879					
399.73	H:184*=cl	S:1028	[SRBP]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	1886					
		.73	KL' AGUSTUS SCOR' MACHABEOR'. VII. FR'M CUM M'RE. (1 aug)									
		.75	[IIII ID' AGUSTUS SC'I LAURENTI] (10 aug)									
400.75	--	S:1065=ao	[S]all RBP--	--	[ ]all	218=m	1533=m			LC:{ }	a:--	F:1193=v2
401.75	H:645=cl	S:1064=cl	R:140 B:-- P:57=m	--		220=v2	--		Shf:f42+		a:153=cl	F:1188=cl
402.75	H:648=ao	S:1069=ao	R:141 B:88	--		219=n	1543=n		Shf:f42+		a:153=cl	F:1192=ao
403.75	--	S:1060[vg]		--		217=v1	1530=v1				a:--	F:1184[vg]
		.76	III. ID' AGU' SC'I TIBURTI MAR' (11 aug =tiburti1)									
404.76	H:649=cl	S:1073	[SRBP]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	1895					
		.77	ID' AGU' N' SC'I YPOLITE (13 aug =ypoliti1)									
405.77	H:652=cl	S:(73)	[SRBP] R:(183)	[ ]	[ ]	(314=v1)	(1930)					
		.78	XVIII. KL' SEPTE' SC'E EUSEBI P'SBIT' (14 aug =sc'i eusebi1)									
406.78	H:655=cl	S:1086	[SRBP] R:(176)	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	1898					
		.79	ADSUMP' SC'IA MARIAE (15 aug, capitula =sc'ae)									
+407.79			[SRBP]all	[ ]all	[ ]all	(227=m), (228=t)	(1576=m), (1581=t)			LC:{ }		

DC 1	Gr 2	Ge 3	Fr 4	OP 5	Hy 6	Lf 7	Wp 8	Th 9	CLM 10	misc col 11	LM 12	varia 13
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
+408.79						(228=s)	(1584=s)					
+409.79						225=v2	1569=v2					
+410.79						(229=n)	(1587=n)					
.80 COLLECTE (15 aug, adsumptio s. Mariae =collectae)												
411.80	H:658=ol[v <sub>g</sub> ]	--	[SR]all B:97	--all, except:	[all	221=v1	1555=v1	1:f87+[v <sub>g</sub> ] 2:f72-[v <sub>g</sub> ]	Shf:(f69+) Ag1:[v <sub>g</sub> ]	LC: {}	a:154=cl	F:1209=cl Wb:1173=cl RbJ:200
412.80	H:659=sc[v <sub>g</sub> ]	--	P:59=v1 B:93		--	--	--	2:f72-[v <sub>g</sub> ]	Ag2:f140-[v <sub>g</sub> ] Ag1:[v <sub>g</sub> ]		a:--	Wb:1174=sc RbJ:200
413.80	H:660=pc[v <sub>g</sub> ]	--	P:--all, except: B:94		223=t	1562=t	2:f72-[v <sub>g</sub> ]	Ag2:f140-[v <sub>g</sub> ] Shf:f42-	Ag1:f Ag2:f141-		a:155=pc	F:-- F:1211=pc Wb:1175=pc RbJ:200
414.80	H:661=adcl	S:1093	B:96 P:60=m		224=s	1565=s	1:f87+ 2:f72-	1:f87+ 2:f72-	Shf:f42- Ag1:f	Brt:42-	a:155=adcl	F:1213=adcl Bg:61=cl RbJ:200
415.80	H:662=cl	--	B:98	91	f82r[vt]	224=n	1568=n	1:f87+ 2:f72-	Ag2:f141+ Shf:(f69+)		a:155=cl	F:1214=cl Wb:1177=ao Bg:62=cl RbJ:201
416.80	H:663=sc	--	B:95	90	226=v2	1571=v2	2:f72-	2:f72-	Ag1:f Ag2:f141-		a:--	F:1219=ao Wb:1178=sc Bg:63=sc RbJ:201
417.80	To:3432=cl	--	B:--	--	--	--	--	2:f72-			a:(70=cl)	F:-- RbJ:--
.81 XVI KL' SEPT'B, OCTAUAS SC'I LAURENTII (17 aug)												
418.81	H:193*-ao	S:1099	[SRBP]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	1900					
.82 XV KL' SEPT' SC'I AGAPITE MAR' (18 aug =agapiti)												
419.82	H:665=cl	S:(853)	[SRBP] R:(182)	[ ]	[ ]	(244=n)	1657					

DC 1	Gr 2	Ge 3	Fr 4	OP 5	Hy 6	Lf 7	Wp 8	Th 9	CLM 10	misc col 11	LM 12	varia 13
	.83	XI KL' SEPT' SC'I THIMOTHEI (23 aug =timothei)										
420.83	H:668=cl	S:1110 B:20 R:142 [SBP]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	1902					
421.84	.84	VIII KL' SEP' SC'I BARTHOLOMEI AP'SLI (24 aug)										
	H:202*=cl	S:1119 [SRB] P:67=v2	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	1904					
422.85	.85	IIII. KL' SEP' PAS' IOHANNIS BAB' (29 aug =bap.)										
	H:209*=cl	S:1140 [SRB] P:62=v1	92	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	1909			LC:{ }		
423.86	.86	III KL' SEP' SC'OR' FILICIS (30 aug =feliciis et adauti)										
	H:677=cl	S:1145 [SRBP] R:(145)	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	1910					
+424.87 +425.87 +426.87 +427.87 +428.87	.87	VI IDUS SEPT' NATIVITAS SC'A MARIAE (8 sept, capitula =sc'ae)	[SRBP]all [ ]all	[ ]all	(f81v)	-- 227=p 229=v2 (224=n) (224=n)	-- 1581=t 1589=v2 (1567=n) (1567=n)			LC:{ }		
429.88	.88	ITEM COLLECTIONES (8 sept, nat. s. mariae)										
	H:680=v1	S:1159 S:[ ]all R:146 B:-- P:69=m	[ ]all	[ ]all	[ ]all, (f82r)	226=v1	1575=v1	1:f90- 2:f74-	Shf:f43+ Ag2:f145-	Brt:f47- LC:{ }	a:158=v1	Wb:1234=cl

DC 1	Gr 2	Ge 3	Fr 4	Op 5	Hy 6	Lf 7	Wp 8	Th 9	CLM 10	also col 11	LM 12	varia 13
430.88	H:681=ol	S:1165	R:147 B:--- P:68=v1 RP---		227=m,p	1578=m		1:f90- 2:f74-	Shf:f43+ Ag2:f145-		a:158=ol	Wb:1235=ao
431.88	To:3587=ol	S:1157	B:103 R:(259) B:(99) P:---		228=t	1582=t		2:f74-	Shf:f43+ Shf:(f69+)			Wb:1239=ao
432.88	To:1841=ol	--	R:260 B:(100) P:---		--	--		1:f159- 2:f74-	Shf:(f69+)			ALCino.5, (464) Bg:37=ol
433.88	To:1844=sp	--	RBP-- R:(244) B:(102) P:---		230=v2 229=n	1592=v2 1588=n		2:f74- 1:(f36-)	Shf:f69-			ALCino.5, (464) Bg:40=sp
434.88	To:3436=sp	--	S:(51) RBP--		--	--						
435.88	To:3593=sp	S:(683)			--	--						
436.88	--	S:<(685>)			--	--						
437.89										LC: {}		
438.89												
439.89												
440.89												
441.89												
442.90	H:726=ol	S:1242	[SRBP]all	--all, except:	[]all	237=v1	1624=v1		Ag1:f	LC: {}	a:162	F:1343
443.90	H:728=pc	S:1247				239=n	1637=n		Shf:f43- Ag1:f		a:162	F:1347
444.90	H:2511=ao	S:1243		97		238=m	1627=m		Shf:f43- Ag1:f		a:162	F:1348
445.90	--	--				--	--				a:---	F:---
												RbJ:--

.89 [III KAL' OCT' CAPITULA IN FESTIUITATE SC'I MICHAELIS ARCHANGELI] (29 sept)

.90 [COLLECTA IN FESTIUITATE SC'I MICHAELIS ARCHANGELI] (29 sept)

DC 1	Gr 2	Ge 3	Fr 4	OP 5	Hy 6	Lf 7	Wp 8	Th 9	CLM 10	misc col 11	LM 12	varia 13
446.90	Te:1856=ol	S:1249		98		238=t	1631=t		Shf:43- Ag1:f		a:--	F:1350 ALC:do.6, (449) RbJ:215 F:1349
447.90	--	S:1248				239=s	1634=s		Ag1:f		a:--	
448.91	H:729=ol	S:1255	[SRBP]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	1847	1:f96+				
449.92	H:(665=ol)	S:(853)	[SRBP]	[ ]	[ ]	(244=n)	(1657=n)				a:156	F:--
450.93	H:732=ol	S:1266	[SRBP]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	1953					
451.94	H:271*=ol	S:1274	[SRBP]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	1955					
452.95	H:275*=ol	S:1283	[SRBP]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	1964					
453.96	--	--	[SRBP]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	1965				a:--	F:--
454.97	To:3647=ol	S:(202)	[SRBP]	[ ]	[ ]	--	(1753)	1:f109+ 2:f79+	Ag1:f155- F:2:f71+	Sh:61- Gn:f66+	a:165=ol	Bg:27 F:1392
455.98	To:3657	--	[SRBP]all	[ ]all	[ ]all	--	--	2:f79+		LC: {}	a:--	F:--

DC 1	Gr 2	Ge 3	Fr 4	OP 5	Hy 6	Lf 7	Wp 8	Th 9	CLM 10	misc ool 11	LM 12	varia 13
456.98	To:3652=ol	--	S:(78)		243=t	1652=t	1:f109+ 2:--		Shf:f44+ Ag1:f155- Ag2:f153+ Fs1:f87+ Fs2:f71- Shf:f44+ Ag1:f155- (171-)[vt] Ag2:f153- Fs1:f87+ Shf:f44- Ag1:f155- Ag2:f153- Fs2:f72-	Shm:f61- Gn:f66-	a:165=ol	Bg:32 F:1397=ol
457.98	To:3655=pc	S:(1257)			245=v2	--	1:f159- 2:f79+			Shm:f61- Gn:f67+	a:165=pc	Bg:36 F:1400=pc
458.98	To:3656=sp	--			243=p	--	1:f109+ 2:f79+			Shm:f61- Gn:f66-	a:165=sp	Bg:35 F:1401=ao
459.99	--	--	[SRBP]all	[]all	[]all	--	1:-- 2:f79-				a:--	F:--
460.99	To:3662	--			244=s	1655=s	1:f109+ 2:f79-		Ag1:f171-[vt] Fs1:f100+		a:--	F:--
461.99	To:3663	--			--	--	1:-- 2:f79-				a:--	F:--
462.100	To:1865	--	[SRBP]all	[]all	[]all	242=s	1:f159-[vt] 2:--		Ag1:f187-[vt]		a:179	Bg:41 F:1888=ol ALC:mo.7, (460)
463.100	To:1868	--			--	1661=v2	1:f159+[vt] 2:--				a:--	Bg:44 F:1891=ao
464.100	--	--			(219=s)	(1540=s)	1:-- 2:--		Ag1:f171+[vt] Ag2:f153-		a:--	Bg:47=pc F:--
465.100	--	--			--	--	1:-- 2:f80+		Ag1:f171+[vt] Ag2:f154-		a:--	Bg:45=ol F:--
466.100	P:(588)	G:(1290)	R:(184)		(f24-)	(325=s)	1:f159-[vt] 2:f80+					Bg:46=sc F:1895=ol[vt]

.99 ITEM COLLECTIONES IN COTIDIANIS DIEBUS (in honore canium sanctorum)

.100 ITEM IN COTIDIANIS DIEBUS UT SUPRA (collectae in honore canium sanctorum)

DC 1	Gr 2	Ge 3	Fr 4	OP 5	Hy 6	Lf 7	Wp 8	Th 9	CLM 10	misc col 11	LM 12	varia 13
		.101 VI IDUS OCTB' SC'OR' MAR' CORON' (8 nou, nou'b)										
467.101	H:739=cl	S:1307	[SRBP]	[]	[]	[]	1835					
468.102	H:742=cl	S:(973)	[SRBP]	[]	[]	[]	1973					
		.103 III.. ID' NOVb' NT' SC'I MARTINI EPS' (11 nou)										
469.103	Tc:(3511=cl)	--	[SRBP]all	--all,	[]all	(307=v1)	(2013=v1)	2:(f68+=v1)		a:(172=cl) F:(1367)		
470.103	Tc:(3516=v1)	--				(328=m)	--	2:(f68+)		a:-- F:--		
471.103	Tc:(3521=v2)	--				(328=v1)	1678=n	2:(f68-)		F:--		
	H:296#=ao									O:(254)[tr]		
472.103	Tc:(3517=cl)	--				248=v2	1681=v2	2:(f68-)		F:--		
	H:299#=sp									C:(253)[tr]		
473.103	--	S:1323=sp		(176)			1668=m	2:f80-	Ag2:f155+	a:-- F:1429=ao		
474.103	--	S:1319=cl					--	1:f98-	Ag1:f156-	a:-- F:1424=ao		
475.103	--	S:1324=ao		99		(214=v2)	1672=t	2:f80-	Ag2:f155+	a:-- F:1428=sp		
		.104 .X. KL' DEC' NAT' SC'A CECILIAE MAR' UIRG' (22 no =sc'ae)										
476.104	(837)	S:1339=cl[vg]	[SRBP]all	[]all	[]all	[]all	1696=s					
477.104	--	S:1343=cl					1699=n					
		.105 NONA KL' DEC' NT' SC'I CLEMENTIS PAPAE (23 nou)										
478.105	H:754=cl	S:(1052)	[SRBP]	[]	(f23-)	(322=t)	1704=v1					
		P:(54=v1)										
		.106 VIII KL' DEC' SC'I CRISOGONI MAR' (24 nou)										
479.106	H:760=cl	S:(152)	[SRBP]	[]	[]	[]	1979					



DC 1	Gr 2	Ge 3	Fr 4	OP 5	Hy 6	Lf 7	Wp 8	Th 9	CLM 10	misc col 11	LM 12	varia 13
		.107	III KL' DEC' SC'I SATURNINI MR' (29 nou)									
480.107	H:763=cl	S:(934)	[SRBP]	[ ]	(191=t)	(1475)						
+481.108												
+482.108												
+483.108												
+484.108												
+485.108												
		.108	II KL' DEC' PAS' SC'I ANDREA APS' (30 nou, capitula)									
			[SRBP]all	[ ]all	[ ]all	(307=v1)	--					
						(307=m)	--					
						(309=s)	--					
						(309=n)	--					
						--	d--					
		.109	SECUTUR COLLECTIONES DE SC'O ANDREO (30 nou)									
486.109	--	S:1367=ao[vg]	[SBP]all	--	[ ]all	249=v1	1714=v1					
487.109	H:766=cl[vg]	S:1366=cl[vg]	R:(166)	--	(f20--)	--	(2133=v1)					
488.109	--	S:1376=sp		--		251=n	172=n					
489.109	H:775=ao	S:<1412>[ot]	R:162, (167)			251=s	1724=s					
490.109	H:774=v2	S:1377	R:161, (168)	100		(308=m)	(2012=v2)					
491.109	H:777=ao	S:1378	R:164, (169)	101	(f20--)	--	--					
492.109	H:776=ao	S:(732)	R:163 P:(29=v2)	(62)		250=m	1717=m					
		.110	IDUS DEC' NT' SC'I LUCIAE (13 dec =sc'ae)									
493.110	--	S:1421=cl	[SBP] R:--	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	1991					
		.111	XII KL' IAN' SC'I THOMEI APS' (21 dec =thomae)									
494.111	H:(301*)	S:1456	[SRBP]	[ ]	[ ]	(308=t)	1992					

DC 1	Gr 2	Ge 3	Fr 4	OP 5	Hy 6	Lf 7	Wp 8	Th 9	CLM 10	misc col 11	LM 12	varia 13
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.113 IN VIGILIA UNIVS APOSTOLI (capitula)

+495.113			[SRBP]	[all]	f20+	(320=v1)	(1679=v1)		Ag2:(f42-) Ag1:(f58-)			
+496.113					f20+	(321=m)	(2014=m)		Ag2:(f42-) Ag1:(f58-)			
+497.113					f20+	308=t	--		Ag1:(f57-) Fs1:(f92+)			
+498.113					--	--	--					
+499.113					--	--	--					

.114 SECUNTOR COLL' AD UIGILIAS APS'R' (unius apostoli =ad uigiliam)

500.114	H:(55*)	--	[SRP]all R:--all		f20+	307=v1	(2013=v1)		Fs1:f91+		as172=ol	F:(1367)
501.114	P:818=ol	S:1205)			f20-	(314=v1)	(1930)				as:(154)	F:(1325)
502.114					f21+	(332=v1)	(2059=v1)		Ag1:f161+		as172=ap	
503.114			P:(26=m)		f20-	--	(1931=v1)					
504.114					f20+	(315=t)	(1397=s)		Shf:f53+			
505.114					--	308=t	(1992)					
506.114					f21+	--	2180=v2					

.115 IT' IN UIG' APS' (capitula in nat. apostolorum)

507.115			[SRBP]all	[all]	f21+	312=n	2009=n		Fs1:f91-			Wn:226 NM:(149) Wn:226
+508.115					f21-	--	--					
+509.115					--	(171=v1)	--					
+510.115					f21-	--	--		Fs1:f91-			
+511.115					f21-	--	--					

.116 IT' COLL' APS'R'. (collectiones in nat. apostolorum)

512.116			[SRP]all R:171	all, except:	f22+	--	(1964)		Fs2:f76- Ag2:f161+ Ag1:f159-	LC:f}		
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DC 1	Gr 2	Ge 3	Fr 4	OP 5	Hy 6	Lf 7	Wp 8	Th 9	CLM 10	misc col 11	LM 12	varia 13
513.116			R:--all, except: P:(53=v2)		--	--	(1863)					
514.116					--	311=m	--		Ag2:f162+> Shf:f57-			
515.116					f22-	--	--					
516.116					f22-	(245=v2)	--					
517.116			R:170, (124)	118	f22+	312=s	2007=s		Fs2:f76- Ag2:f161+ Fs1:f91- Shf:f53-			
518.116			R:(126)		--	--	(1862)					
.117 IN UGIL' UNIUS MAR', (capitula)												
+519.117			[SRBP]all	[ ]all	f22-	(332=t)	(2065=t)		Fs2:f80+ Ag2:f42+ Ag1:f58+ Fs1:f92+ Ag2:f42+ Ag1:f58+ Ag2:f42+ Ag1:f58+ Fs1:f92+	Shn:f65- Gnif69-		
+520.117					--	(332=t)	(2065=t)					
+521.117					f22-	(331=v1)	(2057=v1)					
+522.117					--	--	(2057=v1)					
+523.117					--	(332=m)	(2060=m)					
+524.117					f22-	(334=v2)	2073=v2					
.118 [IT' COLLECTIONES IN UGIL' UNIUS MAR']												
525.118			[SBP]all	--all,	f23+	--	--					
526.118			R:--all	except:	f23-	--	(1909)		Shf:(f57-) Fs1:f92- Ag1:f161-	Shn:f65+ Gnif69-		
527.118					f23+	318=m	2029=m,v2					
528.118					--	(233=m)	(1607=m)					
529.118				121	f23-	323=s	2019=s					

DC 1	Gr 2	Ge 3	Fr 4	OP 5	Hy 6	Lf 7	Wp 8	Th 9	CLM 10	Misc ool 11	LM 12	varia 13
		.119 IN UIG' MAR' (capitula in nat. martirum)										
+530.119			[SRBP]all	[ ]all	f23-	324=v1	2039=v1		Fa2:f79+ Ag2:(f38+) Fa1:f93-	Sbn:f67+ Gn:f71+ LC:{}		Wa:224 NM:(153)
+531.119					f24+	324=	2042=					
+532.119					--	325=t	2046=t		Ag1:f(55+)	Sbn:f68+ Gn:f72-		Wa:224
+533.119					f24+	(336=t)	(2082=t)		Ag1:(f57+) Fa1:f93-			Wa:224
		.120 SECUN' COL' AD UIGIL' (in nat. martirum)										
534.120			[SEP]all	--	f24+	--	--		Fa2:f79+ Fa1:f93-	LC:{}		
535.120			R:--		--	--	--					
536.120		S:1507		132	f25+	326=s	2050=s		Sbn:f54+			
537.120		S:1508		133	f25+	(338=v2)	(2090=v2)		Sbn:f54+			
538.120		S:1509		134	--	324=v1	2041=v1		Ag1:f161+			
539.120		S:1505		131	f25+	--	--					
		.121 IN NAT' UNUS CONFESSORES (capitula)										
+540.121			[SRBP]all	[ ]all	f25-	327=v1	(1662=v1)	1:f13-	Ag2:f39- Ag1:f59+ Fa1:f95+ Fa2:f81- Ag1:f60+	Sbn:f68- Gn:f73+ LC:{} Sbn:f68+ Gn:f72- Sbn:f69+ Gn:f73-		
+541.121					f25-	328=	(1671=t)	1:f13-				
+542.121					f26+	329=t	(1677=n)	1:f13-				
+543.121					--	329=s	--		Fa2:f81- Ag2:f39- Ag1:f59-			
+544.121					--	--	--					

DC 1	Gr 2	Ge 3	Fr 4	OP 5	Hy 6	Lf 7	Wp 8	Th 9	CLM 10	misc col 11	LM 12	varia 13
.122 [IT' COLLECTIONES IN NAT' UNIUS CONFESSORIS]												
545.122			[SBP]all Ri:--all	--all, except:	--	333=n	2069=s		Fs2:f82-	Shm:f68- Gnif73+ LC: {}		
546.122				f26+		334=n	2072=n		Ag1:f161-			
547.122			126	f26-		--	--		Ag1:f161- Fs1:f96+			
548.122				--		--	--		Fs2:f82+ Ag1:f162)			
549.122			B: (117)			330=s	(1794)					
550.122				f26-		334=v2	2075=v2					
551.122			125	--		331=v2	--					
.123 IN ECCLESIA CUIUSLIBET SC'I MARTINIS SIVE CONFESSORIS (collecta in nat. unius confessoris)												
552.123	To:1877=ol		[SBP]all B:--all	[ ]all	f26-	--	--	1:f106- 2:f87v>			o:20=ol	F: <1906=ol>
553.123	To:1881=sp				f26-	--	--	1:f106-> 2:f87v>	Fs2:f82->			F: 1910=ao
.124 [CAPITULA IN NAT' FLURIMORUM CONFESSORUM]												
+554.124			[SBP]all	[ ]all	f27+	--	--	1:f14+	Fs1:f96+	LC: {}		
+555.124					--	--	--					
+556.124				f27+		--	--					
+557.124				f27+		--	--					
.125 [IT' COLLECTIONES IN NAT. FLURIMORUM CONFESSORUM]												
558.125			[SBP]all Ri:--all	[ ]all	f28+	--	--		Fs1:f96+ Fs2:f82+ Shf:f57-	LC: {}		
559.125				f28+		--	--		Shf:(f56+)			
560.125				--		--	(1772)					
561.125				--		--	--					

DC 1	Gr 2	Ge 3	Fr 4	OP 5	Hy 6	Lf 7	Wp 8	Th 9	CLM 10	misc col 11	LM 12	varia 13
562.125			R:178		f27-	335=m	1820		Fa1:f96+ Fa2:f80+ Ag2:f163+			
563.125					--	--	--					
.126 IN NT' PLURIMORUM MARTIR' (capitula in nat. sanctorum confessorum[?])												
+564.126			[SEBP]all	[ ]all	--	334=v1	2076	1:f14+	Fa2:f78- Ag2:f38+ Ag1:f56+ Fa1:f93-			
+565.126					--	--	2076					
+566.126					--	335=m	2078					
+567.126					--	--	--	1:f14+	Ag1:f55+ Fa1:f93-	Shu:f67- Gns:f72+		
+568.126					--	--	--					
+569.126					--	337=n	2087=n		Fa1:(f91-)			
.127 [IT' COLLECTIONES IN NAT' PLURIMORUM SANCTORUM(?)]												
570.127		S:(1501=ao)	[SEBP]all	--	(f24-)	(327=v2)	--				a:174=ol	
571.127		S:1489=ol		--	--	336=t	2083=t				a:174=ao	
572.127		S:1494=ao		127	--	335=v1	1806				a:174=po	
573.127		S:1495=ao		128	--	--	--				a:174=ap	
574.127		S:1496=ao		129	--	(326=n)	--					
.128 AD CRUCEM SALUTANDAM (collectiones)												
575.128	H:690	S:1181	P:(71=v1)	95	--	(230=v1)	(1598=m)			RgB:(13.3)		
			[SEBP]all	[ ]all								
			R:--all,									
576.128			except:		--	--	--					F:(1837)
			P:(32=m)		--	--	--					Wn:(173=po)
			R:255		--	--	--					RbJ:(80)
577.128	H:(287=po)				--	--	--					
578.128					--	--	--					
579.128					--	--	--					

DC 1	Gr 2	Ge 3	Fr 4	OP 5	Hy 6	Lf 7	Wp 8	Th 9	CLM 10	misc ool 11	LM 12	varia 13
580.128					f81r	--	--					



## Appendix II

### Edition of FrR incipits with collation tables

This appendix is devoted to a diplomatic transcription of the c.800 collectar fragment from Reichenau, Karlsruhe Landesbibliothek, Augiense Frgm.22 [=FrR]. Although its importance as an early collectar from Reichenau is acknowledged, it has not yet received an adequate edition since the very sparse treatment by A. Holder in Die Reichenauer Handschriften, 1914. In editing this fragment, I was fortunate to take note of A. Davril's computational edition of the Winchcombe Sacramentary (Orleans, BM 127), regrettably still unpublished, with the modifications necessary to take account of the scribal idiosyncracies and the fragmentary state of FrR. The present edition has been produced on an Apple Macintosh Plus with an attached Apple LaserWriter Plus. I am grateful to Dr. J. Ball, Computing Laboratory, University of St. Andrews, for his advice on word-programming and computer technicalities.

Because of the unusual length of the fragment, it has been deemed sufficient to limit the edition to the incipits, followed by collation tables. As several of the folios are literally in fragments, many incipits are missing and have been supplied through an identification of the surviving phrases of the prayer; most of these internal phrases have not been reproduced here due to the restrictions of length mentioned above. This edition has retained the orthographic forms peculiar to the Reichenau scribes, and has recorded omissions and offered possible reconstructions, only some of which Holder had recorded.

Suspensions and abbreviations have been written out in italics. Conventional abbreviations employed by the scribe which involve the forms of *deus*, *dominus*, *quaesumus*, etc. have been retained, while the scribal habit of using the bar as a mark of abbreviation appears here as the apostrophe.

Surviving incipits have been printed in plain, 12-point print. Reconstructions of illegible text have been enclosed within angle brackets <> in 12-point print. Missing letters or incipits have been supplied in 10-point print within square brackets [], where normalized spellings and abbreviations have prevailed. Editorial comments occur in 10-point print within parentheses. The rubrics have been printed in 12-point bold-faced print in order to distinguish the red-ink which the scribes have used here and also for the first initials, with the exception of the miscellaneous material in the last four folios and the later additions, where the first initials were often written in the same brown ink and therefore do not appear in bold-face in this edition. The mixture of rustic capitals and uncials in the rubrics have been preserved wherever possible. The caroline **g** has been reproduced as the yogh 3.

Changes of hand, which occur more frequently after f.33v, have not been indicated unless they have been added much later; these are indicated by an asterisk \*. In the collation tables, references enclosed within parentheses indicate that the collect is used for a different feast than that in FrR. The Gregorian witnesses are taken from Deshusses's Le Sacramentaire Grégorien, 3 vols. [=GrH, GrP]. The Gelasian witnesses have been represented by the Gellone Sacramentary [=GeG], and whenever this is lacking, by St. Gall 348 [=GeS]. E. Adda's dubious claim for an early ninth-century Reichenau scriptorium for the origins of the exemplar of the 'Orazionale Pacifico' has necessitated the inclusion of this Verona collectar [=OP] among the witnesses in the collation tables.

	FrR	GrH	GrP	GeG<Ges>	DC	OP
(manuscript begins incompletely) (single strip of first folio remains)						
[Perfice in nobis qs dne] (f.1r)	[IIII non. feb. ypopanti scae. mariae]	1	127	87	25.4	---
Ds' qui [nos annua b. agathe] (f.1v)	[non. feb. nat. scae. agathae]	2	132	(97)	---	---
(two leaves missing)						
[Propitiare dne supplicationibus] (f.2r)	[fer. iii] (ebd. ii, quadr.)	3	212	184	390	---
Pop[ulum tuum dne propitius]	[fer. iii]	4	213	185	372	110.11
[al'] Ds' [innocentiae restitutor]		5	216	188	---	---
Da [qs o. ds ut sacro nos]	[fer. vi]	6	221	193	379	112.11
[al'] Da [qs dne populo tuo salutem]		7	224	197	382	---
[Da qs dne nostris effectum] (f.2v)	[sabb. ad scos. marcellinum et petrum]	8	225	198	384	---
[al'] [Familiam tuam qs dne] con[tinua]		9	228	201	---	---
[Qs o. ds uota humili]um	[die dom. ad scm. laurentium foris murum] (dom iii)	10	229	202	389	---
(four leaves missing)						
[Fiat dne qs per gratiam] (f.3r)	[sabb. ad scm. laurentium foris murum] (ebd. iv)	11	281	254	---	---
alia Ds' qui sperantibus in te		12	284	257	485	---
Ds' om[ps' d]s' famil[iam]	dom' de pas[sione]	13	---	---	---	---
[al'] Protegat dne' qs' tua dextera*		14	(896)	---	(1513)	---

	FrR	GrH	GrP	GeGges>	DC	QP
	<b>fer' ii</b>					
	15	288	261	495	154.14	25
<b>alia</b> D[a qs' dne' p]<opu>lo tu[o sal]utem	16	291	264	(382)	---	---
	<b>fer' iii</b>					
	17	292	265	500	---	---
<b>alia</b> D[a nobis dne' qs' perseuerantem	18	295	268	(489)	---	---
	<b>[fer. iiiii]</b>					
	19	296	269	506	---	---
<b>[al']</b> S[anctificato hoc ieiunio] (f.4r)	20	299	272	(496)	---	35
	<b>[fer. vi]</b>					
	21	304	277	516	---	---
<b>Co</b> [rdibus nostris dne benignus]	22	307	(216)	(431)	118.11	---
<b>[al']</b> [Concede qs o. ds ut qui] (f.4v)	<b>[sabbato]</b>					
	23	308	---	(454)	---	---
<b>[al']</b> [Proficiat qs dne pleb tibi]	24	311	---	(458)	---	---
(several leaves missing)	<b>[dominica sancta]</b>					
	25	389	334	734	197.16	45
<b>al'</b> [Concede qs o. ds ut qui] (f.5r)	26	390	335	735	198.16	---
<b>alia</b> Presta qs' omps' ds' ut qui	27	391	336	736	199.16	---
	<b>fer' ii IN ALIAS</b>					
	28	392	337	739	205.16	---
<b>alia</b> Ds' qui sollemnitate paschali	29	398	338	744	---	---
<b>alia</b> Concede qs' omps' ds' ut (f.5v)	30	399	339	745	---	---
<b>alia</b> Concede qs' omps' ds' ut festa	31	400	340	746	---	---
<b>alia</b> Ds' qui populum tuum de hostis						

	FrR	GrH	GrP	GeGes	DC	OP
	<b>fer' iii</b>					
D[s'] qui ecclesiam tuam nouo	32	401	341	748	200.16	---
<b>alia</b> Concede qs' omps' ds' ut qui	33	405	345	754	201.16	46
(top half of folio missing)						
[al'] [Ds qui colnspicis familiam (f.6r)]	34	407	347	756	206.16	48
	<b>fer' iiiii</b>					
[Ds qui nlos resurrectionis domini	35	408	348	---	207.16	---
<b>alia</b> [Presta qs] omps' ds'. Ut huius	36	412	351	764	208.16	---
[al'] [Ds qui nos per paschalia] (f.6v)	37	413	352	765	209.16	---
[al'] Tribue qs' omps'> ds'	38	414	353	766	210.16	---
	[ <b>fer. v</b> ]					
Ds qui diuersitatem [gentium]	39	415	354	768	211.16	---
[al'] Ds qui nobis ad celebrandum (f.7r)	40	420	357	775	212.16	---
<b>alia</b> Da qs' omps' ds'. Ut ecclesia	41	421	358	776	213.16	---
<b>al'</b> Multiplica qs' dne' fidem	42	422	359	777	///	---
	<b>fer' vi</b>					
Familiam tuam qs' dne' dextera	43	(457)	---	(832)	(224.16)	59
<b>alia</b> Omps' sempiternae ds' qui (f.7v)	44	423	360	779	///	---
<b>al'</b> Ds per quem nobis & redemptio	45	427	364	785	///	---
<b>alia</b> Adesto qs' dne' familia tuae	46	428	365	786	///	---
	< <b>sabbato post albas</b> >					
Concede qs' omps' ds'. Ut (f.8r)	47	429	366	788	///	---
[al'] Ds' totius conditor creatur[rae]	48	433	369	794	///	52
[al'] Ds qui multiplicas ecclesi[am]	49	434	370	795	///	---
	<b>die dominico post albas</b>					
Presta qs' omps' ds'. Ut qui	50	435	371	797	///	---
<b>al'</b> [Iarg]ire qs' dne' fidelibus (f.8v)	51	438	374	802	///	---
<b>alia</b> [Ds q]ui nos exultantibus animis	52	439	375	803	///	---

FrR	GrH	GrP	GeGes>	DC	OP
	<b>[al]iae orat' paschales</b>				
53	440	376	804	///	---

[Ds] qui omnes in xpo' renatos

(top half of folio missing)

[al.]	[Ds qui pro salute mundi] (f.9r)	54	442	378	(757)	229.16	53
al'	[Ds qui ad aeternam uitam]	55 (63)	443	---	806	230.16	---
[al.]	[Ds et reparator innocentiae] (f.9v)	56	444	380	(787)	---	---
al'	Ds' qui credentes <in te>	57	445	---	808	---	50
a[1.]	Omps' sempiternae ds'. qui hu[manum]	58	446	---	810	231.16	54
al'	Omps' sempiternae ds'. (f.10r)	59	447	---	817	214.16	---
alia	Presta nobis omps' & misericors	60	448	---	821	215.16	55
al'	Concede qs' omps' ds'. Ut ueterem	61	449	---	833	216.16	56
al'	Repelle <d>ne conscriptum (f.10v)	62	450	---	819	217.16	57
al'	Ds' qui ad <eternam> uitam	63(55)	451	---	806	218.16	58
al'	Ds' humani <generis> conditor	64	452	---	---	219.16	---

(one leaf missing)

		<vii	kl' mai	letania maior'>			
	Mentem famili<ae tuae qs> (f.11r)	65	466	400	890	///	---
al'	Ds' qui culpas nostras piis	66	469	403	893	///	---
al'	Ds' qui culpas delinquentium	67	467	401	891	///	---
al'	Parce dne' qs' parce populo (f.11v)	68	468	402	892	///	---
alia	Adesto dne' supplicationibus	69	470	404	894	///	64
alia	Presta qs' omps' ds'. Ut ad te	70	471	---	898	///	---
alia	Pres[ta qs omps' ds. Ut qui	71	472	405	895	///	---

		iiii	k'. mai'. nat'. sci'. uiralis			
	Presta qs' omps' ds'. Ut (f.12r)	72	476	408	(162)	339.43
						---

		kl'. mai'. nat'. apostolorum. philippi. et. iacobi					
	Ds' qui nos annua apostolorum	73 <sub>(172)</sub>	479	415	930	340.44	---
al'	Protege dne populum tuum	74 <sub>(125)</sub>	(602)	(560)	(1221)	(390.65)	---
		(174)					

	FrR	GrH	GrP	GeG<ges>	DC	OP
	v. non' mai'. nat'. scorum' alexandri. euentii. et <theodoli>					
Presta qs' omps' ds'. Ut qui (f.12v)	75	482	418	941	341.45	---
Ds' qui conspicis quia nos	ii. non'. mai'. nat'. sci' io<ha>nnis. (ante portam)					
	76	485	428	955	342.46	---
[Da qs] omps' ds'. Ut qu[i beatorum]	vi. id'. mai'. nat'. scorum'. GORDIANI. ET. EPYMACHI					
	77 (186)	488	431	(993)	343.47	---
Presta qs' omps' pater. ut* (f.13r)	vigil' asc'. d'					
Da qs' ompc' ds'. illuc subsequi*	78	---	455	971	///	69
Tribue nobis dne'. qs' ut illuc*	79	---	---	976	///	---
	80	---	---	975	///	---
Concede qs' omps' ds'. Ut (f.13v)	IN ASCENSA [DNI']					
Ades<to dns' s>up<plication>ibus	81	497	440	978	///	---
Ds' cuius filius in alta caelorum	82	502	446	984	///	70
	83	503	447	985	///	---
Da qs' omps' ds'. Ut qui (f.14r)	viii kl'. iun'. natal'. sci' urbani papa[e]					
	84	504	452	993	346.50	---
Da nobis qs' dne' per zratiam	orat' in sabb'. pentec'					
Omps' sempiternae ds'. qui (f.14v)	85	519	---	1021	///	---
Presta qs' omps' ds'. Ut claritatis	86	516	467	1027	///	---
	87	520	460	1014	///	---
[Ds qui hodierna die corda fide]	die dom' pentecost'					
Ds qui sacramento (f.15r)	88	526	466	1028	///	---
Annue misericors ds'	89	517	468	1035	///	72
Sancti spiritus dne' corda (f.15v)	90	518	473	1022	///	71
	91	525	465	1033	///	---





	FrR	GrH	GrP	GeGges>	DC	OP
	<b>viii.</b>	<b>kl'.</b>	<b>iul'.</b>	<b>natal'.</b>	<b>sci' [iohannis bap.]</b>	
al' Concede qs' omps' ds'. Ut qui (f.19r)	108	571	523	1149	359.57	---
al' alia Ds' qui praesentem diem honorabilem	109	574	526	1152	---	---
al' Ds' qui nos beati iohannis	110	577	531	1160	360.57	78
al' Omps' sempiternae ds'. Da cordibus	111	578	530	1161	362.57	76
al' [Ds qui conspicis quia nos]	112	579	---	1162	361.57	---
al' alia Da qs' omps' ds'. Intra scae'	113	580	529	1163	---	---
al' Ds' qui nos annua beati iohannis	114	581	---	1164	---	77
al' Omps' et misericors ds'. qui	115	582	---	1158	363.57	---
	<b>vi.</b>	<b>kl' iul'.</b>	<b>nat'.</b>	<b>sc'orum iohannis et pauli</b>		
Qs' omps' ds' ut nos zeminata (f.20r)	116	583	532	1168	364.58	---
	<b>iii.kl'.</b>	<b>iul'.</b>	<b>nat'.</b>	<b>sci' leonis. p[apae]</b>		
Ds' qui beatum leonem pontificem	117	586	---	---	365.59	---
	<b>iii.</b>	<b>kl'.</b>	<b>iul'.</b>	<b>uic' sci' petri</b>		
Presta qs' omps' ds. Ut nullis (f.20v)	118	589	538	1181	375.61	---
ad uicilias nocte						
Ds' qui ecclesiam tuam apostoli	119	593	542	1186	374.61	79
	<b>[iii kal.</b>	<b>iul.</b>	<b>nat.</b>	<b>sci. petri]</b>		
Ds' qui hodiernam diem (f.21r)	120	594	543	1188	---	---
Ds' qui apostolo tuo petro	121	598	545	234	376.61	(21)
Omps' sempiternae ds'. qui ecclesiam	122	599	546	1195	377.61	81
Familiam tuam dne propitius (f.21v)	123 <sup>(173)</sup>	600	---	1202	378.61	---
Exaudi nos ds' salutaris noster	124 <sup>(170)</sup>	601	547	1199	(517.116)	(118)
alia Protege dne' populum tuum	125 <sup>(174)</sup>	602	560	1221	390.65	---
alia Esto dne' plebi tuae sanctificator	126	603	---	(1247)	(518.116)	---
	<b>[ii kal.</b>	<b>iul.</b>	<b>nat.</b>	<b>sci. pauli]</b>		
Ds' qui multitudinem gentium (f.22r)	127	604	548	1203	384.63	83
	<b>octavas apostoloru'</b>					
Ds' cuius dextera beatum	128	607	557	1217	389.65	---

FrR	GrH	GrP	GeG<cas>	DC	OP
[vi non. iul. nat. scorum.] PROCESSI ET MARTINIANI					
129	610	551	1208	392.66	---
Ds' qui nos scorum' tuorum (f.22v)					
Presta qs' omps' ds'. ut qui					
130	613	561	1223	394.68	---
vi id' iul' nat' VII fratrum					
Infirmi- tatem nostram respice					
iii kl' auc' nat' sc'orum FELICIS ET SIMPLICII					
FAUSTINI ET BEATRICIS					
131	616	573	1264	(326.31)	---
iii kl' auc' nat' scor[um] ABDON' ET SENNES					
132	619	576	1266	398.72	---
Ds' qui sanctis tuis abdonnen (f.23r)					
men' auc' ad scm' pe[trum] ad uinacula					
133	622	---	---	---	---
Ds' qui beatum pet[rum] apostolum]					
iii non' auc' natal' sci' stephani epi'					
134	625	582	1282	///	---
[Ds qu]i nos beati stephani (f.23v)					
[viii] id' auc' nat' x<ysti ep'>					
135	628	585	1606	///	---
[Ds qu]i conspicis quia ex nulla					
eodem die natal' sci' FELICISSIMI ET AGAPITI					
136	633	588	1290	///	---
Ds qui nos concedis scorum' (f.24r)					
ui id' auc' nat' sci' cyriaci					
137	636	594	1297	///	---
Ds qui nos annua beati martyris					
[v id. aug. uigilia sci. laurentii]					
138	639	597	1300	///	---
[Adesto dne supplicationibus] (f.24v)					
iii. id'. auc'. nat'. sci' LAURENTII<I>					
139	642	600	1308	---	---
Excita dne' in ecclesia tua					
140	645	603	1311	401.75	---
Da nobis qs' omps' ds'. uitiorum					
141	648	607	1316	402.75	88
Ds' cuius caritatis ardore bea[tus]					
alia					
al'					

	FrR	GrH	GrP	GeG<ges>	DC	OP
(two leaves missing)						
Auxilium tuum n<ob>is dn<e> (f.25r)	xi kl' sept' nat' sci' <TIM>ot<HEI> 142 668 631 1366 420.83					---
Ds' qui beatum hermen. martyrem	v. kl'. sept' nat'. sci'. hermetis 143 671 637 161 (327.32)					---
Ds' qui inter cetera potenti<ae>	iiii. kl'. sept. nat'. sce'. sabinae 144 674 640 202 (332.36)					---
Maiestatem tuam dne supplices (f.25v)	iii kl' sept'. nat'. sc'orum relicis et adaucti 145 677 646 1416 (423.86)					---
Supplicationem seruorum tuorum	vi id' sept' NATIVITAS SCAE'. MA<RI>AE 146 680 --- 1433 429.88					---
Famulis tuis dne' caelestis (f.26r)	147 681 --- 1434 430.88					---
Presta qs' omps' ds' ut qui beati	eode' die nat'. sci'. adriani. 148 3594 (434) (965) (333.37)					---
Beati proti nos dne & hiacinthi	iii. id'. sept'. nat'. sc'orum. PROTI ET HACINTHI. 149(179) 684 656 1439 ///					---
Infirmiorem nostram qs' dne' (f.26v)	xviii kl'. oct'. nat'. sc'orum. CORNELII. ET CYPRIANI 150 687 662 1467 ///					---
Ds' qui nos hodierna die exaltatione	eodem die. exaltatio. SCAE' CRUCIS 151 226* --- 1448 ///					94
(single strip from inner margin of f.27r-v remains)						
[Presta qs omps ds ut] (f.28r)	[ebd. xviii post pent. fer. vi.] 152 709 683 1491 ///					---

FrR	GrH	GrP	GeG<ges>	DC	OP
<b>Sabbato &lt;ad sce&gt;[m. petrum. xii lectiones]</b>					
	153	712	686	351	---
[al.] Omps' sempiterne ds' [qui]				---	---
Da nobis qs' omps' ds'. Ut [ieiu]nando	154	713	687	1499	---
[al.] Tuere qs' dne' famili[am tuam]	155	714	688	1509	---
[al.] [Presta q]<s dne sic nos ab> (f.28v)	156	715	689	1057	---
alia [Ut nos] dne tribuis sollemne tibi	157	716	690	1502	---
alia [Presta] qs dne familiae supplicanti	158	706	680	1486	---
[die] dominico uacar.					
[Omps] sempiterne ds misericordi[am]	159	720	---	1508	---
(three leaves missing)					
<b>&lt;p&gt;r&lt;idie&gt; kl' dec' natale &lt;sci'&gt; ANDREAE</b>					
Maiestatem tuam dne' (f.29r)	160	770	774	1664	148
[al.] Da nobis qs' dne' ds' noster	161(168)	774	778	1670	100
al' Adiu<uet eccles>iam <tu>a<m>	162(167)	775	780	1707	---
al' Ds' qui es scorum' tuorum (f.29v)	163	776	---	1671	(62)
Exaudi dne populum tuum cum sci'	164(169)	777	---	1672	101
<b>id'. dec'. nat'. scae'. lucie</b>					
Exaudi nos ds' sal<ut>ari<s>	165	784	787	1408	---
<b>orat'. in uicl'. unius ap[ostoli]</b>					
Qs' omps' ds'. ut beatus. ill' (f.30r)	166	1221	771	1659	---
<b>orat'. in nat'. unius apos[toli]</b>					
Adiuu& ecclesiam tuam tibi dn[e]	167(162)	(775)	780	1707	---
alia Da nobis qs' dne' ds' noster	168(161)	(774)	(778)	(1670)	---
[al.] [Ex]<audi> dne' populum tuum (f.30v)	169(164)	(777)	---	(1672)	---
<b>&lt;or&gt;at. in uicilia plurimorum apostolorum</b>					
[Ex]audi n<o>s ds' salutaris noster	170(124)	(601)	547	1578	118
al' Concede qs' omps' ds' ut sicut	171	(275*)	---	1568	---

	FrR	GrH	GrP	GeG<ges>	DC	OP
	<b>in nat' plurimor' aporl'</b>					
	172(73)	1224	(415)	(930)	(340.44)	---
<b>alia</b>	173(123)	(600)	---	(1202)	(378.61)	---
<b>al'</b>	174(125)	(602)	(560)	(1221)	(390.65)	(84)
	<b>orat' in nat' uniu' confre[ssoris]</b>					
	175	1233	(818)	(1476)	(322.27)	---
[al.]	176	(655)	(618)	(1338)	(406.78)	---
<b>al'</b>	177	(748)	(742)	(1608)	(41.8)	---
	<b>in nat' plurimoru' confessorum</b>					
	178	1236	736	1602	562.125	---
<b>al'</b>	179	(684)	(656)	(1439)	---	---
<b>al'</b>	180	(687)	(662)	(1467)	---	---
	<b>in natal' unius mart'</b>					
	181	1227	(739)	(1605)	---	---
[al.]	182	(665)	(625)	(1071)	(419.82)	---
<b>alia</b>	183	(652)	(612)	(73)	(405.77)	---
	<b>in nat' plurimor' mart'</b>					
	184	1230	(588)	(1290)	(466.100)	---
<b>al'</b>	185(103)	(559)	(502)	(930)	(347.51)	---
<b>alia</b>	186(77)	(488)	(431)	(993)	(343.47)	---
	<b>in natal' uirginum</b>					
	187(144)	1239	640	1833	(332.36)	137
<b>al'</b>	188	(41)	(9)	(141)	---	---
<b>al'</b>	189	(105)	(78)	(149)	(325.30)	---
	<b>orat' in dedicatione ecclesiae</b>					
	190	818	---	2456	---	---
<b>al'</b>	191	819	---	2457	---	---
<b>al'</b>	192	822	---	---	---	---

Ds' qui nos a[nnua apostolorum]  
**alia** Familiam tuam dne' propitiu (f.31r)  
**al'** Protege dne' populum tuu'

Da qs' omps' ds' ut beati ill.  
[al.] [Ds' qui nos beati ill.] (f.31v)  
**al'** Ds' qui conspicis quia ex nulla

Ds qui nos sc'orum tuoru' illor'  
**al'** Beatorum. illor'. nos dne (f.32r)  
**al'** Infirmitatem nostram qs' dne'

Presta qs' omps' ds'. ut qui  
[al.] Letetur eccle<sia> tua [ds]  
**alia** Da nobis omps' ds'. ut beati (f.32v)

Ds' qui nos concedis scorum'  
**al'** Ds qui nos annua beatorum. illor'  
**alia** Da qs' omps' ds' <ut> qui (f.33r)

Ds' qui inter cetera pote<nti>ae  
**al'** Da qs' omps' ds' ut qui beate ill'  
**al'** Da qs' omps' ds' ut qui beate ill'

Ds' qui sacrandorum tibi(f.33v)  
**al'** Ds' qui ex omni coaptatione  
**al'** Qs' omps' ds'. ut hoc in loco (f.34r)

	FrR	GrH	GrP	GeG<ges>	DC	OP
	<b>in nat' basil' anniuersar'.</b>					
	193	1262	---	2483	---	139
<b>alia</b>	194	---	---	2458	---	---
	<b>orat' in acenda mortuor'</b>					
	195	1015	---	2994	---	159
<b>al'</b>	196	1016	---	---	---	160
<b>alia</b>	197	1017	---	---	---	161
	<b>orat derunct in cymitiriis</b>					
	<b>[orationes cotidianae]</b>					
	198	900	---	---	---	---
<b>al'</b>	199	901	---	(1584)	260.18	---
<b>alia</b>	200	902	---	2185	---	---
	201	903	720	1562	---	---
	202	904	---	(1380)	---	---
	203	905	---	(920)	---	---
	204	906	---	(1620)	---	---
<b>alia</b>	205	907	---	(1626)	---	---
	<b>[one leaf missing]</b>					
	<b>&lt;E&gt;xcita dne' tuorum cord&lt;a&gt; (f.35r)</b>					
<b>al'</b>	<b>Da salutem dne' qs' populo tuo</b>					
<b>alia</b>	<b>Qs' omps' ds' ne nos tua misericordia</b>					
	<b>Omps' sempiterne ds' uniuersa nobis</b>					
	<b>Tuere dne' populum tuum (f.35v)</b>					
	<b>Purifica qs' dne' tuorum corda</b>					
	<b>Protector in te sperantium ds'</b>					
<b>alia</b>	<b>Conserua qs' dne' populum tuu'</b>					
	<b>[one leaf missing]</b>					
	<b>[Conserua qs' dne' familiam tuam] (f.36r)</b>					
<b>alia</b>	206	916	---	119	---	---
	207	917	---	2186	---	---
<b>alia</b>	208	918	---	---	261.18	---
	<b>(bottom part of folio missing)</b>					
	<b>[Conserua dne qs' tuorum corda] (f.36v)</b>					
<b>alia</b>	209	920	---	(1276)	---	---
	210	921	---	(1679)	258.18	---
	211	922	---	134	---	---
	212	923	141	305	(95.11)	---



	FrR	GrH	GrP	GeGes>	DC	OP
(one leaf missing)						
[Qs dne ds noster diei molestias] (f.37r)	213	940	928	2143	249.18	221
<b>al'</b> [Adesto dne precibus] nostris	214	941	935	2144	---	222
<b>Exaudi</b> nos misericors ds' &	215	942	922	2118	250.18	212
<b>ORAT'</b> <b>VESPERTINAL'</b> <b>SEU</b> <b>MATUTINALES</b>						
Vox nostra <te> dne' semper	216	943	902	2145	---	223
<b>alia</b> Presta qs' omps' ds' Ut liber[is]	217	944	903	2146	---	224
(top part of folio missing)						
[ <b>al.</b> ] <S>uscip<e d>ne preces nostras (f.37v)	218	946	906	2148	---	226
Cunctas dne' semper a nobis	219	947	908	2149	---	227
<b>alia</b> R[edem]ptor noster aspice ds'	220	948	909	2150	---	228
<b>alia</b> D[s] claeli terraeque dominator	221	949	910	2151	---	229
<b>al'</b> Presta qs' misericors ds' ut tibi	222	950	---	2152	---	230
(one leaf missing)						
[Absolute dne qs nostrorum uincula] (f.38r)	223	962	920	2161	---	242
Ascendant ad te dne' pre<ces>	224	963	149	2162	---	243
Clamantes ad te ds' di3nanter	225	964	921	2163	---	244
Concede nobis dne' qs' ueniam	226	965	923	2164	---	245
Tua nos dne qs' 3ratia semper	227	966	---	1532	---	246
<b>alia</b> Respice nos misericors ds'. &	228	967	924	2165	---	247
<b>al'</b> Tuere nos superne moderator	229	968	925	2166	---	248
<b>al'</b> Vt a nostris excessibus dne (f.38v)	230	969	926	2167	---	249
Aufer a nobis qs' nostras dne'	231	970	927	2168	---	250
<b>alia</b> Vt cunctis nos dne' foueas adiumentis	232	971	929	2169	---	251
<b>alia</b> Oculi nostri ad te dne' semper	233	972	930	---	---	252
Peccata nostra dne' qs' memor	234	973	931	2170	---	253
Porri3e nobis ds' dext<eram> (f.39r)	235	974	932	860	---	254
<b>al'</b> Exaudi nos dne' ds' noster	236	975	933	2171	---	255
<b>alia</b> Intende dne' qs' suplice<s>	237	976	934	1769	---	256

	FrR	GrH	GrP	GeG<ges>	DC	OP
<b>al'</b> R<espice> nos omps' & misericors	238	977	936	2172	---	257
I<niqui>tates nostras ne res<pici>as	239	978	937	2173	---	258
Fac nos dne' ds' <nost>er	240	979	938	114	---	259
	<b>Or'.</b>	<b>SUPER.</b>	<b>EBDOMADARIOS.*</b>			
Ds' cui semper humilium (f.39v)	241	4476	---	---	---	---
	<b>&lt;SUP' EBDOM' QUI INGREDIUNTER&gt;</b>					
Misericors ac piissime ds' qui	242	4477	---	---	---	---
(two lines empty near top of f.40r)						
	<b>[orationes de s. maria]</b>					
Porrige nobis ds' dexteram* (f.40r)	243	4430	932	860	---	---
Protege dne' famulos tuos subsidiis*	244	4431	389	857	435.88	---
Beate et gloriose semperque uirginis*	245	4432	---	1169	---	---
Dne' ds'*(remaining text rubbed out)	246	?	?	?	?	?
	<b>[oratio basilicae anniuersarii]</b>					
Qs' omps' ds'. ut hoc in loco (f.40v)	247	4172	---	---	---	---
Ds' qui nos ad anniuersarium diem	248	4175	---	---	---	---
	<b>ORATIO IN DOMO INFIRMORUM*</b>					
Omps' & misericors ds' qs' inmensam*	249	1480	---	2877	---	327
	<b>[in agenda mortuorum]</b>					
Tibi dne' comendamus animam* (f.41r)	250	1415	---	---	---	---
	<b>MISSA [pro defuncto] ANNVALIS*</b>					
Ds' indulgentiarum dne' da facmulo	251	2900	---	3001	---	---
Inclina dne' precibus nostris aures	252	2899	---	3010	---	---
	<b>[i]N DEDICATIONE ECCLESIAE</b>					
Ds qui nobis per singulos (f.41v)	253	1262(sp)	---	2483	---	139
<b>alia</b> Ds qui de uiuis atque electis	254	1265(sp)	---	2487	---	---

	FrR	GrH	GrP	GeG<Ges>	DC	OP
	<b>DE SCA' CRUCE</b>					
Ds' qui UNIGENITI TUI PR<E>tioso (f.42r)	255	1835	---	---	576.128	---
[D]s qui praeclara salutifere	256(258)	1839	---	---	---	---
	<b>IN ADVENTU FRATRUM SUPERUENIENTIUM</b>					
Ds' humilium uisitor qui nos	257	4485	---	2809	---	319
	<b>[de sca. cruce]</b>					
Ds' qui praeclara salutiferae (f.42v)	258(256)	1839	---	---	---	---
	<b>[orationes de sca. maria]</b>					
Concede nos famulos tuos qs' dne'	259	1841	---	<Ges B37>	432.88	---
Omps' ds' famulos tuos dextera	260	1844	---	<Ges B40>	433.88	---
	<b>ORATIONES PRO PLUUIA POSTULANDA</b>					
Terram tuam dne' quam uidemus (f.43r)	261	1000	---	2663	---	---
Da nobis qs' dne' pluuiam salutarem	262	1001	---	2668	---	---
Omps' sempiternae ds'. qui saluas	263	1002	---	---	---	---
	<b>OR'. QUANDO MULTUM PLUIT</b>					
Dne' ds' qui in mysterio (f.43v)	264	1003	---	---	---	---
Qs' omps' ds' clementiam tuam	265	1004	---	---	---	---
	<b>ALIA [ad poscendam serenitatem]</b>					
Ad te nos dne' clamantes (f.44r)	266	1372(sp)	---	2669	---	146
	<b>[orat. nat ss. dionysius, etc.]</b>					
Ds' qui hodierna die beatum*	267(143)	258*	---	---	(327.32)	---
	<b>BENEDICTIO MONACHORUM</b>					
Presta dne' qs' famulis tuis (f.44v)	268	4444	---	2580	---	---

FrR	GrH	GrP	GeG<ges>	DC	OP
IN AGENDA MORTUORUM ORAT.*					
Ds' cui proprium est misereri*	269	3056	---	---	---
Ds' uita uiuentium spes* (f.45r)	270	3061	---	883	---
alia Ds' ueniae largitor & humane*	271	2862	---	---	---
alia Ds' uita uiuentium spes morientium*	272	2866	---	---	---
[de cordis emundatione. per spm. scm. postulanda]					
Ds' c<u>i omne cor patet* (f.45v)	273	2325	---	---	---
Concede qs' omps' ds' sanctum nos*	274	2329	---	---	---
(two lines empty at the top of f.46r)					
[in die depositionis defunctis iiii, viiima, xxxiens]					
Qs' dne' u<t fa>mulo tuo .n.* (f.46r)	275	2888	3000	---	---
Presta qs' omps' ds'. ut anima'*	276	2894	2972	---	---
Animae eorum in bonis demorabuntur*	277a	---	---	---	///
Et semen eorum hereditabunt terram					
In memoria aeterna erunt iusti*	277b	---	---	1067	///
ab auditione mala no<n> timebunt					
Redimet dns' animas seruorum suorum*	277c	---	---	879	///
<Et non> delinquent omnes qui					
Aperta inferi erue dns'*	277d	---	---	876,	///
Requiem aeternam dona [eis]				1033, 1068	
<IN ASCENSA DNI>					
Ds' qui nos ascensionis* (f.46v)	278	---	---	---	---
Presta qs' omps' ds' ut nostrae*	279	---	971<766>	---	69
Ds' qui ad declaranda tuae miracula*	280	---	<773>	---	---

### Appendix III

#### Edition of Stephen's 'Liber Capitularis'

Version I is a diplomatic transcription made directly from the manuscript, Cologne Stadtarchivs, GB. 4 174, ff.166-167. This version retains all orthographic forms peculiar to the fourteenth-century scribe, and records punctuation, capitalization and lineation, much of which Mohlberg had omitted in his edition of 1914.<sup>1</sup> All extended abbreviations and suspensions are italicized, including supralinear letters. Scribal marks to separate the text into phrases are indicated by a waved line ~. Lineation is indicated by a full bar |. Possible reconstructions of illegible text or uncertain abbreviations are enclosed within < >. I express my gratitude to Dr. David Smith, Director of the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, University of York for his suggestions on particularly illegible passages.

The transcription is interpreted in Version II. This version standardizes Latin spellings and forms to accord with modern editorial practices and emends the text where it is corrupt.

The interpreted account is translated in Version III. Every attempt is made to retain the original sense and to invoke the literary traditions which underlie Stephen's prefatory letter to Bishop Robert of Metz. Necessary clarifications are confined within (). Text within < > denotes possible reconstructions of an otherwise meaningless passage. I am particularly grateful to the patient tutoring of Dr. Adrian Gratwick, Humanities Department, University of St. Andrews, for this translation.

Stephen's "Liber Capitularis" (Version I)

(f.166rb) Domno | patri Roberto Mediomatricis | ecclesie  
presuli Stephanus nomine | Tungrorum episcoporum obsequii  
omnimodi | famulatu Pro exactis in*iuriarum* laboribus ~ quos  
constat | patres expendisse prolib < et > ~ est | filiis super  
terram celest<is > patrie | viue<re > longius si quanto tamen  
fu|<er >int m<er >ita<uer >unt<sup>2</sup> illis, postquam ~ tue metensis  
ecclesie nostris siquidem | mee ~ gremio regulariter | sum  
exceptus ~ In quo diu | multo lacte tuo ~ paternali |  
amministratione sum pastus | (f.166va) deo miserante sponse  
proprie hoc est | ecclesie mee concubino deueni po|cius ~ heu  
heu egi seu nequam fi|lius nullas exe<m>arum<sup>3</sup> eulogias |  
representans parentibus ~ Tandem | diuini flaminis tactus  
impulsus, | intra mei cordis penetralia | multo inhesi mediatu  
~ quid | qualiterue querens rependerem dignum. | Sed idem  
supernus semper superna co|gitans ~ deliberauit i<n> anime  
pocius | vicissandum ~ quod foret spirituale at|que eternale  
meritum ~ Quo circa | alta patrum haut quaquam attingere |  
peraudens ~ Quandoquidem ea iam | olim compleuerant ~ ipsorum  
cura sol|lers ~ repperi omnia minia ac propterea | ut reor ab  
illis prorsus o|missa ~ exhinc imperitus imperitis | proficere  
gestiens ~ dedi operam cam|pos bibliothece percurrrens ~ Et |  
quasdam semitas quibus bene in|ced<er>ent inuenire malui nitens  
Ergo prout valui per singulos horarum cursus singula capitula |  
cum responsoriis vel versibus siue eciam | collectis statui ac  
primum a sancta tri|nitate inicium ordiens per omnes | sanctorum  
ordines texui ~ dehinc | per totum anni orbem nullam  
eb|domadarum relinquens percucurri | ~ diuersorum quoque plura  
anime sequuntur | vtilia ~ que et ipsa sua obtinent | loca ~ que  
omnia pater amantissime | (f.166vb) compacta ~ animi nutantes  
indagatione | tibi solidanda committo ~ ac si | tutissime  
anchore ~ quo vbi | me naufragium pertulisse cong|noueris  
Soliditatem tui portus | blanda tranquillitate attribuas | meque  
cum dilatis muneribus | matri securum representes Quo vtinam

nobis placita letos | parentum animos preparent ad  
filiis | vota In suo denique vti queque | facilius  
inueniantur loco capitulatim | hic subter maturaui omnino  
| annotare ~ [.1.]<sup>4</sup> .de sancta trinitate. | [.2.] .de inuentione  
sancte crucis [.3.] .de | exaltatione sancte crucis [.4.] .de |  
natiuitate sancte marie [.5.] .de an|nunciacione sancte marie  
[.6.] .de | purificacione sancte marie [.7.] .de | assumptione  
sancte marie [.8.] .de sancto | michaelis [.9.] .de sancto joanne  
baptista | [.10.] .de decollatione sancti joannis baptiste |  
[.11.] .de sancto petro [.12.] .de sancto paulo | [.13.] .de  
sancto laurentio [.14.] .de sancto lamberto | [.15.] .de omnibus  
sanctis [.16.] .de sancto andrea | [.17.] .de sanctis apostolis  
[.18.] .de vno martyre | qui non fuit episcopus [.19.] .de vno  
martire | episcopo [.20.] .de pluribus martiribus [.21.] .de |  
vno confessore [.22.] .de pluribus | confessoribus [.23.] .de  
vna virgine | [.24.] .de pluribus uirginibus [.25.] .de ad|uentu  
domini [.26.] .de natiuitate | domini [.27.] .de sancto stephano  
.de | **(f.167ra)** sancto joanne ewangelista [.29.] .de  
Innocentibus | [.30.] .de circumcisione domini [.31.] .de  
epiphania | domini [.32.] .de dominicis post epiphaniam | [.33.]  
.de .LXX. [.34.] .de .LX. [.35.] .de .L. [.36.] .de XL | [.37.]  
.de passione [.38.] .de resurrectione | [.39.] .de dominicis post  
albas [.40.] .de | rogationibus [.41.] .de ascensione | domini  
[.42.] .de dominica post ascen|sionem [.43.] .de pentecoste  
[.44.] .de | dominicis post pentecosten vsque ad | aduentum  
domini [.45.] Collecte de omnibus | propriis festiuitatibus  
tocius anni | [.46.] de dedicacione.

#### Stephen's "Liber Capitularis" (Version II)

Domino patri Roberto Mediomatricis ecclesie presuli,  
Stephanus, nomine Tungrorum episcoporum, obsequii omnimodi  
famulatus pro exactis iniuriarum laboribus; quos constat patres  
expendisse, prohibitum est filiis super terram celestis patrie



uiuere longius<sup>5</sup>, si quando<sup>6</sup> tamen fuerint meriti<sup>7</sup> illis.

Postquam tue Metensis ecclesie matris siquidem mee gremio regulariter sum exceptus, in quo diu multo lacte tuo paternali amministrazione sum pastus. Deo miserante sponse proprie hoc est ecclesie mee concubino deueni potius; heu, heu, egi ceu nequam filius, nullas exuuiarum eulogias representans parentibus. Tandem diuini flaminis tactu impulsus intra mei cordis penetralia multo inhesi meditati, quid qualiterue querens rependerem dignum.

Sed idem supernus semper superna cogitans deliberauit in animam potius uicissandum, quod foret spirituale atque eternale meritum. Quo circa alta patrum haut quaquam attingere peraudens; quandoquidem ea iam olim compleuerant, ipsorum cura sollers, repperi omnia nimia, ac propterea ut reor ab illis prorsus omissa. Exhinc imperitus imperitis proficere gestiens, dedi operam campos bibliothecae percurrens; et quasdam semitas quibus bene incederent inuenire malui. Nitens ergo prout ualui, per singulos horarum cursus, singula capitula cum responsoriis uel uersibus siue etiam collectis statui; ac primum a sancta Trinitate initium ordiens, per omnes sanctorum ordines texui, dehinc per totum anni orbem nullam ebdomadarum relinquens percucurri. Diuersorum quoque plura anime sequuntur utilia, que et ipsa sua obtinent loca; que omnia, pater amantissime, compacta animi nutantis indagatione tibi solidanda committo ac si tutissime anchore; quo, ubi me naufragium pertulisse cognoueris, soliditatem tui portus blanda tranquillitate attribuas, meque cum dilatis muneribus matri securum representes. Quo utinam nobis placita letos parentum animos preparent ad filii uota.

In suo denique uti queque facilius inueniantur loco, capitulatim hic subtus maturaui omnino annotare: 1. de sancta Trinitate, 2. de inuentione sancte crucis, 3. de exaltatione sancte crucis, 4. de natiuitate sancte Marie, 5. de annunciacione sancte Marie, 6. de purificatione sancte Marie, 7. de assumptione sancte Marie, 8. de sancto Michaeli, 9. de sancto

Ioanne Baptista, 10. de decollatione sancte Ioannis Baptiste, 11. de sancto Petro, 12. de sancto Paulo, 13. de sancto Laurentio, 14. de sancto Lamberto, 15. de omnibus sanctis, 16. de sancto Andrea, 17. de sanctis apostolis, 18. de uno martyre qui non fuit episcopus, 19. de uno martire episcopo, 20. de pluribus martiribus, 21. de uno confessore, 22. de pluribus confessoribus, 23. de una uirgine, 24. de pluribus uirginibus, 25. de aduentu Domini, 26. de natiuitate Domini, 27. de sancto Stephano, 28. de sancto Ioanne euangelista, 29. de Innocentibus, 30. de circumcissione Domini, 31. de epiphania Domini, 32. de Dominicis post epiphaniam, 33. de LXX, 34. de LX, 35. de L, 36. de XL, 37. de passione, 38. de resurrectione, 39. de dominicis post albas, 40. de rogationibus, 41. de ascensione Domini, 42. de dominica post ascensionem, 43. de pentecoste, 44. de dominicio post pentecosten usque ad aduentum Domini, 45. collecte de omnibus propriis festiuitatibus tocius anni, 46. de dedicacione.

#### Stephen's "Liber Capitularis" (Version III)

To the Lord and father Robert bishop of the church of Metz; Stephen, in the name of the bishops of Tungres with the offering of every (humble) obedience in return for the labors owed for wrong-doings. Which labors, it is well known that the fathers (freely) paid (for them long ago); (but now) it is forbidden to the sons on earth <to behold> from a distance <the glory> of the heavenly father-land, if they ever could merit (this right) in return for those (same) labors.

After I was duly accepted into the bosom of your mother-church of Metz -- that is, my (mother-church) -- where I fed on your plentiful milk for a long time under (your) fatherly care, with God being merciful towards his special bride, namely my church, I degenerated instead into the bed-fellow (of the world). Alas, alas, I behaved as an unworthy son, returning no blessings of the spoils to my parents. At last driven by the touch of inspiration within the innermost parts of my heart, I struggled with much hesitation, seeking what or in what manner I might make a worthy return.

But the same heavenly one, forever thinking heavenly

thoughts, delivered into my soul rather than that there should be a return which would be a spiritual and eternal reward. Wherefore, in no way making bold to stretch to the high (achievements) of the fathers, since they had fully accomplished them long ago, and being meticulous as to a careful (study) of the fathers, I found out the things which were inessential, and for that reason, I think, simply left out by them. After that, amateur as I was and eager to benefit other amateurs, I dedicated myself to running through the fields of the library; and I preferred to find certain by-ways through which they might make good entry. Striving therefore with all my might, I arranged through the individual course of hours, individual chapters with responsories and verses and also collects; and making my commencement first from the Holy Trinity, I wove my way through all the orders of the saints, and then I ran through the whole circuit of the year leaving out none of the weeks. Also a good number of things from different (sources) that are useful to the soul follow; and they also have their own places. All of which, collected by the research of an unreliable intellect, I hand over to you, my most loving father, as a most reliable anchor, to be made firm; so that wherever you discover me suffering shipwreck, you may grant me smooth passage by means of the calm tranquility of your haven; and may you return me safe and sound to my mother (church) with (these) offerings, deferred as they are. So I hope the things which are pleasing to us may render the minds of the parents joyful at the sight of their son's offerings.

So that each individual thing may be found more easily in its proper place, I have hastened to note everything here below by general headings:

#### Notes and comments:

- (1) Ed. C. Mohlberg, 'Spuren eines verlorenen Liturgiebuches, des *Liber capitularis* Stephans v. Tongern († 920),' Mélanges d'histoire offerts à Ch. Moeller, 1 (1914), 350-360.
- (2) Dr. Smith has suggested meritauerit as a possible alternative, but the arguments in note 5 below render this reading less likely when one takes into account the sense which the scribe was intending to preserve.
- (3) Dr. Smith has suggested exeniarum as a possible alternative
- (4) Numbers enclosed within brackets [] were added interlineally at a much later date.
- (5) uiuere] possibly uidere or uisere, see version III. For longius, meaning 'from a distance', as distinct from 'for a long time', see

- Stephen's correct use of in quo diu ('for a long time') in text above.
- (6) si quanto] si quando. Orthographic form peculiar to the scribe; retained in version I, modified in version II.
- (7) fuerint meritaerunt] fuerint meriti. The future subjunctive does not exist in classical Latin. Here, only meriti sint (present subjunctive) or meriti erunt (future indicative) would have been possible. The future subjunctive was commonly indicated by using the future tense of esse as an auxiliary verb, such as fuerint meriti in this case (cf. frequent examples of this in the Vulgate). The use of fuerint would have required that a participial form of the verb must follow. Meriti is the likeliest candidate, since a) it resembles the form of the first part of meritaerunt, and b) it suits the meaning in this particular context. Stephen probably wrote it originally as fuerint meriti. The corruption into fuerint meritaerunt which occurred by the fourteenth century would have required several successive stages of mistakes in the transcription of the text.

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